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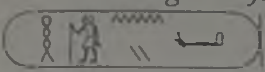
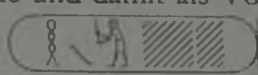
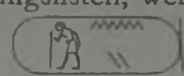
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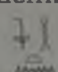
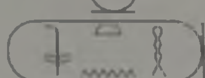
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INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

Zum altägyptischen Namen des Königs Achēs

Von Winfried Barta

Sowohl die Königstafel von Saqqara als auch der Turiner Königspapyrus nennt als letzten König der 3. Dynastie und damit als Vorgänger des Snofru einen König, dessen Name [1]) bzw. [2]) geschrieben wird. Auch der dem Anfang der 12. Dynastie zuzuweisende Papyrus Prisse erwähnt den König und stellt ihn in denselben historischen Zusammenhang wie die Königslisten, wenn er schreibt[3]): „da starb die Majestät des Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten  und die Majestät des Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten Snofru wurde als trefflicher König in diesem ganzen Lande eingesetzt". Der Name dieses Königs, der im Geschichtswerk des Manetho als Achēs erscheint[4]), hätte danach *Ḥwnj* oder besser *Ḥwj* „Schlagender" zu lauten, da *ḥwnj* als jüngere, seit dem Mittleren Reich belegte Nebenform des Verbums *ḥwj* „schlagen" zu gelten hat[5]). Unter den Namensbelegen des Alten Reiches, die ebenso selten wie in den späteren Epochen begegnen, findet sich deshalb auch nur die Form *Ḥwj*. So ist uns zunächst unter den Titeln des Meten vom Anfang der 4. Dynastie ein *ḥqꜣ ḥwt njswt Ḥwj* „Vorsteher des Gutsbezirks des Königs Hui" überliefert[6]), und die Annalen der 5. Dynastie berichten von einer Totenopferstiftung für König Hui, die noch von König Neferirkare versorgt wird[7]): *njswt-bjt Nfr-jrj-kꜣ-Rꜥ jrj.n.f m mnw.f n njswt Ḥwj ꜣḥt stꜣt*..... „der König von Ober- und Unterägypten Neferirkare, er setzte als sein Denkmal für König Hui fest: ... Aruren Ackerland".

Beide Belege des Alten Reiches bezeichnen den König demnach nicht als *njswt-bjt*, sondern als *njswt Ḥwj*, eine Verbindung, die sie übereinstimmend  schreiben, wobei die Gruppe durch Meten der *ḥwt*-Hieroglyphe, vom Annalenschreiber dagegen dem Königsring eingefügt wird:  bzw. . Ebenfalls innerhalb des Königsringes begegnet *njswt Ḥwj* dann, sowohl horizontal  wie vertikal  geschrieben, auf einem 146 cm langen Granitkonus, den J. E. Gautier im Jahre 1909 während der 3. Kampagne der französischen Ausgrabungen auf Elephantine fand[8]). Der Stein wurde zunächst durch L. Borchardt bekannt gemacht[9]),

[1]) Königstafel von Saqqara Nr. 15; A. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie*, Paris 1889, T. 58.

[2]) Turiner Königspapyrus Kol. III Z. 8; A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*, Oxford 1959, T. 2.

[3]) Pap. Prisse 2,7—8; A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 32, 1946, T. 14.

[4]) W. G. Waddel, *Manetho*, *The Loeb Classical Library*, London 1948, S. 42.

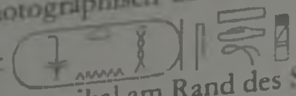
[5]) *Wb* III/49,5—8.

[6]) *LD* II/3.

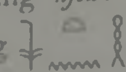
[7]) *Urk.* I/248,12—13.

[8]) Kairo 41556.

[9]) L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 46, 1909, S. 12f.

ehe ihn später H. Goedicke photographisch abbildete und kommentierte[10]). Die auf seiner Vorderseite angebrachte Inschrift  erscheint dabei nicht nur horizontal im versenkten Mittelteil, sondern auch vertikal am Rand des Steines, und wird von H. Goedicke — wenn wir zunächst nur das Epitheton des Königs betrachten wollen — als ein *sšd mnw* „der die Festung gründete" verstanden. Dagegen hat jedoch mit Recht H. Ricke eingewandt, daß *sšd* wohl kaum die Bedeutung „gründen" besessen haben kann und außerdem das dargestellte Gebäude keine Festung, sondern einen Palast wiedergibt[11]). Er schlägt deshalb vor, *sšd* als Erscheinungsfenster und die Palast-Hierophyphe anstelle von  als Determinativ zu *sšd* anzusehen, d. h. H. Ricke vermutet, daß König Hui auf Elephantine einen Wohn-Pavillon besessen hat, unter dessen Fenster der Granitkonus eingemauert gewesen sein könnte.

An dieser Deutung stört jedoch, daß *sšd* mit der Bedeutung „Fenster" erst im Neuägyptischen belegbar ist[12]). Es sollte deshalb vielleicht besser an ein *sšd ꜥḥ* „der den Palast schmückt" gedacht werden. Die Inschrift würde damit an die Errichtung eines Palastes erinnern wollen, der von König Hui vielleicht auf einer mauerartigen, aus rohen Granitblöcken zusammengefügten Unterlage erbaut worden wäre. Zumindest wurde der uns hier interessierende Stein in unmittelbarer Nähe einer derartigen Granitkonstruktion gefunden. Daß es sich dabei, wie gern angenommen wird, um einen Festungsbau gehandelt hat[13]), läßt sich freilich nicht beweisen. Damit entfallen aber auch die weitgespannten historischen Folgerungen, die H. Goedicke an die Gründung einer Festung auf Elephantine durch König Hui knüpft, zumal sich auch der leider nur unvollständig erhaltene Zusatz im Turiner Königspapyrus: *pꜣ qdw sšm* . . . „der Erbauer von . . .", der dem Namen des Königs bzw. der Angabe seiner Regierungsdauer folgt, nicht auf König Hui beziehen muß, sondern mit König Djoser in Verbindung gebracht werden könnte[14]). Wir besitzen demnach keine hinreichende Sicherheit darüber, ob die südliche Grenze Ägyptens unter den beiden ersten Dynastien noch bei Silsilis gelegen hat und erst im Laufe der 3. Dynastie bis nach Elephantine vorgeschoben worden ist. Wahrscheinlicher ist vielmehr, daß schon die Könige der Frühzeit ihr Herrschaftsgebiet bis nach Elephantine ausgedehnt hatten[15]).

Der Name des uns auf dem Granitkonus aus Elephantine überlieferten Königs wurde von L. Borchardt ebenso wie die beiden anderen Namensbelege desselben Königs aus dem Alten Reich als *Ḥwj* gedeutet, dem man die Bezeichnung *njswt* „König" vorangestellt hatte[16]). H. Goedicke sieht demgegenüber in der Schreibung  keine Verbindung zwischen *njswt* und einem Namen ausgedrückt, sondern will die ganze Gruppe als Namen des Königs, den er

10) H. Goedicke, *ZÄS* 81, 1956, S. 21ff. Goedicke verwechselt dabei den Finder des Steines J. E. Gautier mit H. Gauthier und muß es deshalb seltsam finden, daß der Namensbeleg aus Elephantine nicht im *Livre des Rois* erscheint.

11) H. Ricke, *Die Tempel Nektanebos' II. in Elephantine*, *Beiträge Bf* 6, Kairo 1960, S. 53 Anm. 11.

12) *Wb* IV/301.

13) Vgl. z.B. W. Honroth, O. Rubensohn und F. Zucker, *ZÄS* 46, 1909, S. 45f.; L. Borchardt, *Altägyptische Festungen an der zweiten Nilschwelle*, Leipzig 1923, S. 41; Labib Habachi, *WZKM* 45, 1957, S. 63; zuletzt hat G. E. Kadish, *JNES* 29, 1970, S. 99ff. diese Annahme vertreten, indem er die Inschrift des Konus als Festungsnamen ansieht und als *sšd* (King) N "(The Fortress Named:) 'The Fillet of (King) N'" versteht, d. h. *sšd* wird als Kopfbinde und das -Zeichen als Determinativ des Namens betrachtet.

14) Nach einer Vermutung von D. Wildung, die er im Zusammenhang mit seiner Habilitationsschrift zu begründen beabsichtigt.

15) Vgl. T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, Lund 1941, S. 6ff.

16) L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 46, 1909, S. 12f.; vgl. auch H. Schäfer, *ZÄS* 52, 1914, S. 98ff.

Nj-swtḥ liest, verstanden wissen[17]). Denn *njswt* besäße nicht die Qualität eines Titels; außerdem gäbe es keine Beispiele im Alten Reich, die *njswt* als königlichen Titel anstelle von *njswt-bjt* in Verbindung mit dem Königsnamen gebrauchten. Auch würde dort, wo im Alten Reich der Königstitel vor dem Namen innerhalb des Königsringes stehe, stets *njswt-bjt* und niemals *njswt* allein verwendet. Die Tatsache, daß man den König dennoch seit dem Mittleren Reich *Ḥwj* bzw. *Ḥwnj* nannte, wird von H. Goedicke als Fehlinterpretation der ägyptischen Schreiber des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches angesehen; denn diese hätten die Gruppe 𓇓𓏏𓈖 als Titel vor dem Namen mißverstanden.

Das dem Wörterbuch unbekannte *swtḥ* identifiziert H. Goedicke mit dem erst in der Spätzeit belegten Verbum *stḥ* „öffnen“, „sich öffnen“[18]) und versteht darunter das Kausativum von *jtḥ* „ziehen“ mit einem Wandel des Anlautes von *j* in *w*. Als Bedeutung wird „öffnen in bezug auf ein Land“, also es „fassen“, „ergreifen“ angenommen. Der Name *Nj-swtḥ* soll danach eine Verbindung zwischen der Nisbe *nj* und einer Gottesbezeichnung in Form eines nomen actionis darstellen und „the one belonging to the one who (causes to) seizes“ bedeuten, d. h. der Name des Königs würde programmatisch auf die während seiner Regierungszeit erfolgte Expansion nach Süden hinweisen wollen.

Rein grammatisch wäre dazu zunächst zu bemerken, daß *swtḥ* in der vorgeschlagenen Form kein nomen actionis, sondern ein nomen agentis darstellt. Zur Bedeutung des Namens *Nj-swtḥ* selbst sei daran erinnert, daß uns jede Sicherheit über einen von König Hui auf Elephantine errichteten Festungsbau und damit auch die Gewißheit fehlt, der König habe den Schlußpunkt unter die expansive Ausdehnung des Staates der 3. Dynastie nach Süden gesetzt. Die Verbindung zu einem Gott mit der Bezeichnung „der das Ergreifen (von Land) veranlaßt“ hätte danach keinerlei inneren Bezug mehr zum König, würde also kein bestimmtes politisches Programm ausdrücken können, oder anders formuliert, der Name *Nj-swtḥ* ließe sich nicht mehr durch eine als sicher vorausgesetzte Landnahme des Königs stützen. Außerdem muß man sich fragen, weshalb ein Gott, dem sich ein König so eng verbindet, daß er als ein zu ihm Gehöriger zu gelten wünscht, nicht namentlich genannt, sondern nur in einer doch sehr ungewöhnlichen Weise mit Hilfe eines zu dieser Zeit völlig ungebräuchlichen Verbums umschrieben wird. Die Aussage eines solchen Namens mußte selbst für die Zeitgenossen unverständlich sein. Der Name *Ḥwj* „der Schlagende“ dagegen würde sich allgemein und ohne dabei auf ein spezielles Ereignis zu deuten auf die Eigenschaft des Königs als eines starken Herrschers beziehen lassen.

Auch eine weitere Überlegung läßt die Fragwürdigkeit einer als erwiesen angesehenen Namensgebung *Nj-swtḥ* deutlich werden. Um die Tatsache erklären zu können, daß der Schreiber des Papyrus Prisse am Anfang der 12. Dynastie und nach ihm die Schreiber der Königslisten den Namen des Königs durch *Ḥwj* bzw. *Ḥwnj* wiedergaben, muß H. Goedicke zur Hypothese einer Fehlinterpretation greifen. Danach hätten die Schreiber die eigentlich zum Namen gehörende Gruppe 𓇓𓏏𓈖 als Titel mißverstanden. Eine solche Annahme ließe zunächst jede mündliche Tradierung des Namens ausscheiden, da sich ein *Nj-swtḥ* nicht in ein *Ḥwnj* wandeln kann. Außerdem würde die angenommene Fehlinterpretation ungewollt implizieren, daß die Gruppe 𓇓𓏏𓈖𓎛𓂻 durchaus als eine Verbindung zwischen der Bezeichnung *njswt* und einem Königsnamen angesehen werden konnte, und zwar bereits während des Mittleren Reiches von Angehörigen des „akademischen“ Schreiberstandes, denen wir — wollten wir die Möglichkeit

17) H. Goedicke, *op. cit.*, S. 18ff.

18) *Wb* IV/344, 12—13.

einer solchen Verbindung leugnen — einen Grad an Unwissenheit über die Verhältnisse des Alten Reiches nachsagen müßten, der sich durch nichts rechtfertigen ließe[19]). Das bedeutete aber, wir müßten akzeptieren, daß König Hui im Alten Reich als *njswt Ḥwj* bezeichnet worden ist, ebenso wie König Peribsen noch in der 26. Dynastie archaisierend als *njswt Snd* bezeichnet werden konnte[20]).

Damit stellt sich notwendig die Frage nach der Bedeutung von *njswt*. *Njswt* bezeichnet zunächst den König im allgemeinen Sinne als Repräsentanten des Königtums[21]), gehört jedoch nicht zu den Titeln des regierenden Königs; denn *njswt* erscheint innerhalb der Titulatur stets nur in der Erweiterung *njswt-bjt*. Dagegen konnte dem verstorbenen König, da ja auch er noch das Königtum repräsentiert, die Bezeichnung *njswt* als eine Art Epitheton beigelegt werden in der Absicht, ihn zwar als König zu kennzeichnen, gleichzeitig jedoch auszudrücken, daß es sich bei ihm nicht mehr um den regierenden Herrscher handelt[22]), eine Gewohnheit, die für das Alte Reich durch die Pyramidentexte erwiesen wird, wenn sie den verstorbenen König neben dem Königstitel *njswt-bjt* oder anderen Bezeichnungen mehrfach ganz allgemein *njswt* nennen. So verwendet *Pyr.* 16b im Originaltext *njswt*, wo später der Name des verstorbenen Königs eingesetzt wird, und *Pyr.* 1343b bzw. 2169b läßt den verstorbenen König, wenn sich ihm die Erde zum Eintritt öffnet, in der Eigenschaft eines *njswt* erscheinen[23]). Auch wenn der verstorbene König versichert, er habe weder den *njswt* geschmäht, noch sei er der Göttin Bastet zu nahe getreten[24]), wird gemeint sein, daß er zu Lebzeiten den vorgeschriebenen Kult sowohl für seinen verstorbenen Vorgänger als auch für die Göttin Bastet durchgeführt hat. Deutlich wird der hier angesprochene Sachverhalt auch durch *Pyr.* 1468c/d bestätigt, wo *njswt* und *mwt* „Toter" in Parallele zueinander stehen.

Wir sind demnach durchaus berechtigt, die Gruppe 𓇓𓏏𓈖𓎛 als *njswt Ḥwj* zu umschreiben und darunter den verstorbenen König Hui zu verstehen. Das bedeutet aber gleichzeitig, daß keiner der Belege des Alten Reiches als zeitgenössische Quelle angesehen werden darf. Die Grabinschrift des Meten mit dem Titel *ḥqꜣ ḥwt njswt Ḥwj* wird deshalb erst am Anfang der 4. Dynastie angebracht worden sein und sich auf ein Gut der Totenopferstiftung für König Hui bezogen haben. Noch König Neferirkare hat ja später diese Stiftung mit einer Zuweisung von Ackerland bedacht und wählte dabei, um den Begünstigten zu benennen, ebenso wie Meten die Verbindung *njswt Ḥwj*, worin wir wohl keinen Zufall, sondern eine von der Tradition geprägte Formulierung sehen sollten. Als zeitlich nicht festlegbar muß dagegen die auf Elephantine gefundene Inschrift gelten. Sie kann dort als Erinnerung an eine wie auch immer geartete Bautätigkeit des Hui sowohl unter König Snofru als auch später angebracht worden sein.

19) Auch E. S. Meltzer, *JEA* 57, 1971, S. 202f., kommt beim Versuch einer Deutung der Gruppe 𓇓𓏏𓈖𓎛 ohne die Hypothese einer Fehlinterpretation seitens der Schreiber des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches nicht aus. Zwar lehnt er die Namensform *Nj-swtḥ* ab, versteht aber wie H. Goedicke die ganze Gruppe als Königsnamen in Form eines nom. Nominalsatzes mit dem Substantiv *njswt* und dem aktivischen Partizip *ḥwj*: "it is the King who has smitten". Auch dabei müßte also — ganz abgesehen von der Zweifelhaftigkeit eines Namens *Njswt-ḥwj* — die nur wenig wahrscheinliche Annahme vorausgesetzt werden, daß die späteren Schreiber den Königsnamen mißverstanden haben.

20) G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, Berlin 1956, S. 292 Abb. 373 (Berlin 8433).

21) Vgl. W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, *ÄgFo* 24, Glückstadt 1968, S. 285.

22) Darauf, daß *njswt* in diesem Zusammenhang den verstorbenen König bezeichnet haben könnte, hatte mich vor Jahren bereits J. v. Beckerath gesprächsweise hingewiesen.

23) Vgl. auch *Pyr.* 1138b; 1374a; 1638b.

24) *Pyr.* 892a/b.

Drei Stelen aus Elkab

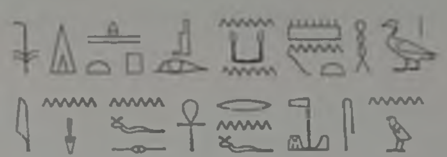
Von Ali Hassan

(Tafel I)

Seit Ende des 19. Jh.s wurden in Elkab, äg. *Nḫb*, griech. Eileithyaspolis, systematische Grabungen von Quibell, Sayce und Clarke[1]) und seit 1937 von Capart[2]) vorgenommen. Die topographische Lage der archäologischen Stätten, die bis 1922 bekannt waren, sind auf einem Plan von Somers Clarke im *JEA* 8, 1922, pl. IV, festgehalten. Die Capartschen Ausgrabungen fanden vor allem innerhalb der großen Umfassungsmauer statt. Das Gebiet, aus dem die hier veröffentlichten Stelen stammen, liegt etwa 150 m nordwestlich der großen Ziegelumfassungsmauer jenseits der Eisenbahnlinie (siehe Taf. I a) und umfaßte etwa 30×30 qm. Bisher hatten in diesem Gebiet noch keine Grabungen stattgefunden. Da durch die geplante Straße zwischen Luxor und Assuan dieses Gebiet überbaut werden sollte, wurde von der Antikenverwaltung in aller Eile von Januar bis März 1964 eine Grabung durchgeführt. Der Platz erwies sich als ein schon alt geplünderter und durch Grundwasser zusätzlich beschädigter Friedhof mit zahlreichen Gräbern. Neben mehreren kleineren Objekten wie Krügen, Opfertafeln aus Ton und einem Spiegel bildeten drei Kalksteinstelen, die im Schutt lagen, den interessantesten Fund. Zwei davon sind sehr gut erhalten, während die dritte stark verwittert ist. Alle drei gehören wohl in die Zeit nach dem MR, d. h. in eine Epoche, aus der wir gerade aus Elkab sehr wenig Material besitzen. Die Darstellungen sind provinziell; die Stifter waren einfache Nekropolenarbeiter. In der Opferformel wird neben Osiris die lokale Geiergöttin Nechbet angerufen.

Stele I (Taf. I b)

Die Stele besteht aus zwei zusammengehörigen Teilen. Sie ist oben abgerundet und zeigt in der Lunette zwei Udjat-Augen in einer eigentümlichen Form. Die Stelenfläche trägt eine zweizeilige Inschrift mit der üblichen Opferformel. Im unteren Teil sind zwei Personen abgebildet, von denen die rechte stehend der linken eine Wasserspende aus einem *ḥs*-Gefäß darbringt, die von einem Ständer aufgefangen wird. Der linke Mann sitzt auf einem Stuhl und riecht an einer Lotusblume. Maße: 25×17×10,5 cm.



1 *ḥtp dj nswt Wsjr n kꜣ n Sꜣ n Sꜣ-Mnḫj.t*
2 *jn sn.f sꜥnḫ rn.f ḫrtj-nṯr Snbw*

[1]) J. E. Quibell, *El Kab*. London 1898; Sayce und Somers Clarke, *Report on certain excavations made at El-Kab during the Years* 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, *ASAE* 6 (1905) S. 239ff.; Somers Clarke, *El-Kab and the Great Wall*, *JEA* 7 (1921) S. 54ff.; *El-Kab and its Temples*, *JEA* 8 (1922) S. 16ff.

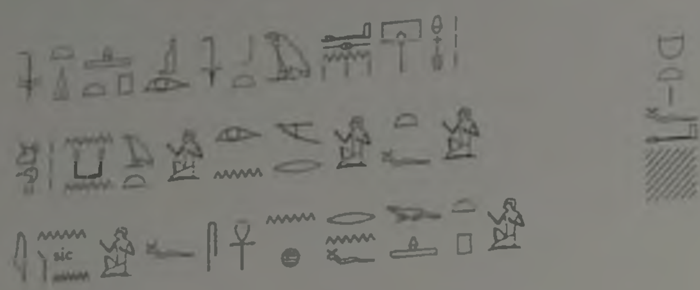
[2]) J. Capart, *Fouilles d'El Kab, Documents*, Brussel 1940—1954; J. Stiénon, *El Kab*, *CdE* 25 (1950) S. 36ff.

Übersetzung:

Ein Opfer, das der König gibt dem Osiris[3]) für den Ka des *Sȝ-Mnḥj.t*[4]). Es ist sein Bruder, der seinen Namen am Leben erhält, der Nekropolenarbeiter *Snbw*[5]).

Stele II (Taf. Ic)

Die Stele ist an ihrem oberen und unteren Teil etwas beschädigt. Die Lunette zeigt zwei Udjat-Augen. Es folgt eine dreizeilige hieroglyphische Inschrift mit der Opferformel. Im unteren Feld sind zwei sitzende Personen, Mann und Frau, an einer Lotusblüte riechend, dargestellt. Der Schnitt der Figuren wie der der Hieroglyphen ist roh und unbeholfen. Maße: 21 × 15 × 10 cm.



ḥtp dj nswt Wsjr Nḫb.t dj.sn pr.t-ḫrw tȝ ḥḳ.t
jḥw ȝpdw n kȝ n Mwt jr.n Mr.jt
jn sn.f sʿnḫ rn.f Sbk-ḥtp

Unten: *ḥm.t.f ʿḏȝ*(?) . . .

Übersetzung:

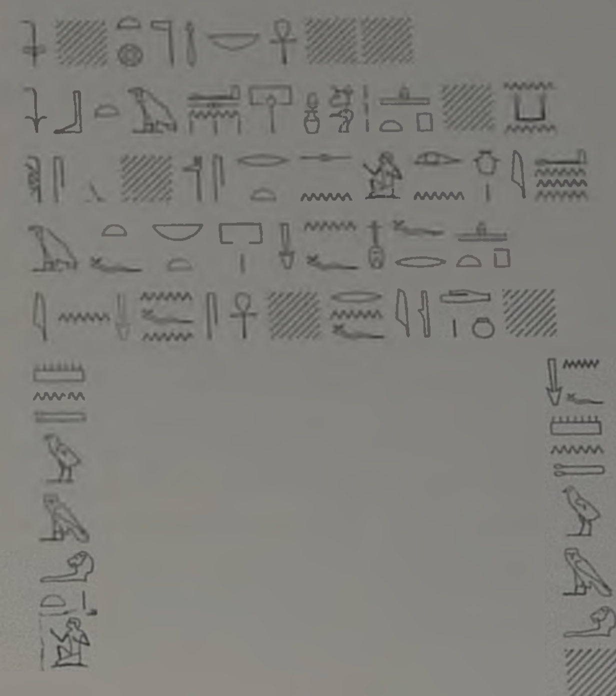
Ein Opfer, das der König gibt dem Osiris und der Nechbet[6]). Sie mögen geben ein Totenopfer an Brot, Bier, Rinder und Geflügel für den *Mwt*[7]), erzeugt von *Mr.jt*[8]). Es ist sein Bruder, der seinen Namen am Leben erhält, *Sbk-ḥtp*[9]). Unten: Seine Frau *ʿḏȝ*(?)[10]) . . .

Stele III (Taf. Id)

Die Stele ist stark verwittert und an einigen Stellen beschädigt. Die Lunette zeigt wiederum zwei Augen. Es folgen fünf Zeilen einer horizontalen hieroglyphischen Inschrift. Der untere Teil trägt am Rand je eine Zeile einer vertikalen Inschrift. In der Mitte befindet sich eine Dar-

[3]) Zur Schreibung der Königs- und Götterformel in der 13./14. Dyn. s. BARTA, *Opferformel*, S. 72f.
[4]) Als Männername nicht belegt, als Frauenname der 18. Dyn. bei RANKE, *PN* I, S. 428,5. Zur *Menḥit*, Göttin von Latopolis s. BONNET, *RÄRG*, S. 451f.
[5]) *Snbw*, belegt im MR, s. RANKE, *PN* I, S. 314,2.
[6]) Zum Vorkommen der Nechbet in der Götterformel von der 12. Dyn. bis zur 20. Dyn. s. BARTA, *Opferformel*, S. 229.
[7]) *Mwt* als Männername im MR belegt, s. RANKE, *PN* I, S. 147,3.
[8]) *Mr.jt*, s. RANKE, *PN* I, S. 155,27; 160,8.
[9]) *Sbk-ḥtp*, s. RANKE, *PN* I, S. 305,6.
[10]) Zu *ʿḏȝ* oder mit *ʿḏȝ*- gebildeten Namen, s. RANKE, *PN* I, S. 72,11, 12, II, S. 272,27.

stellung mit zwei Personen. Der rechte steht in preisender Haltung vor dem linken, der auf einem Stuhl sitzt und an einer Lotusblume riecht. Maße: 33 × 21 × 10 cm.



(ḥtp dj nswt) .... nṯr ꜥꜣ nb ꜣbḏw
Nḫb.t dj.sn pr.t ḫrw tꜣ ḥk.t jḥw ꜣpdw ḥtp.t ... n kꜣ n
jj.s (sms) ... S-n-Wsr.t jr.n Jꜥ-jb
mwt.f nb.t pr .... sn.f Nfr-ḥtp
jn sn.f sꜥnḫ rn.f Jkd .....
Senkrechte Zeile links: *Mnṯw-m-ḥꜣt*
Senkrechte Zeile rechts: *sn.f Mnṯw .....*

Übersetzung:

Ein Opfer, das der König gibt ... der große Gott, Herr von Abydos und Nechbet. Sie mögen geben ein Totenopfer an Brot, Bier, Rindern, Vögeln, Speisen ... für den Ka des Dieners Sesostris[11]), erzeugt von dem *Jꜥ-jb*[12]).

Seine Mutter, die Hausherrin ... sein Bruder *Nfr-ḥtp*[13]). Es ist sein Bruder, der seinen Namen am Leben erhält.

Jkd[14]) .....

Senkrechte Zeile links: *Mnṯw-m-ḥꜣt*[15])
Senkrechte Zeile rechts: Sein Bruder *Mnṯw* .....

[11]) *S-n-Wsr.t*, s. RANKE, *PN* I, S. 279, 1.
[12]) *Jꜥ-jb*, s. RANKE, *PN* I, S. 11, 19.
[13]) *Nfr-ḥtp*, s. RANKE, *PN* I, S. 198, 14.
[14]) *Ikd*... nicht belegt; *Kd* oder mit *Kd*- gebildete Namen: RANKE, *PN* I, S. 337; II, S. 320, 27.
[15]) *Mnṯw-m-ḥꜣt*, s. RANKE, *PN* I, S. 154, 7

einer solchen Verbindung leugnen — einen Grad an Unwissenheit über die Verhältnisse des Alten Reiches nachsagen müßten, der sich durch nichts rechtfertigen ließe[19]). Das bedeutete aber, wir müßten akzeptieren, daß König Hui im Alten Reich als *njswt Ḥwj* bezeichnet worden ist, ebenso wie König Peribsen noch in der 26. Dynastie archaisierend als *njswt Snd* bezeichnet werden konnte[20]).

Damit stellt sich notwendig die Frage nach der Bedeutung von *njswt*. *Njswt* bezeichnet zunächst den König im allgemeinen Sinne als Repräsentanten des Königtums[21]), gehört jedoch nicht zu den Titeln des regierenden Königs; denn *njswt* erscheint innerhalb der Titulatur stets nur in der Erweiterung *njswt-bjt*. Dagegen konnte dem verstorbenen König, da ja auch er noch das Königtum repräsentiert, die Bezeichnung *njswt* als eine Art Epitheton beigelegt werden in der Absicht, ihn zwar als König zu kennzeichnen, gleichzeitig jedoch auszudrücken, daß es sich bei ihm nicht mehr um den regierenden Herrscher handelt[22]), eine Gewohnheit, die für das Alte Reich durch die Pyramidentexte erwiesen wird, wenn sie den verstorbenen König neben dem Königstitel *njswt-bjt* oder anderen Bezeichnungen mehrfach ganz allgemein *njswt* nennen. So verwendet *Pyr.* 16b im Originaltext *njswt*, wo später der Name des verstorbenen Königs eingesetzt wird, und *Pyr.* 1343b bzw. 2169b läßt den verstorbenen König, wenn sich ihm die Erde zum Eintritt öffnet, in der Eigenschaft eines *njswt* erscheinen[23]). Auch wenn der verstorbene König versichert, er habe weder den *njswt* geschmäht, noch sei er der Göttin Bastet zu nahe getreten[24]), wird gemeint sein, daß er zu Lebzeiten den vorgeschriebenen Kult sowohl für seinen verstorbenen Vorgänger als auch für die Göttin Bastet durchgeführt hat. Deutlich wird der hier angesprochene Sachverhalt auch durch *Pyr.* 1468c/d bestätigt, wo *njswt* und *mwt* „Toter" in Parallele zueinander stehen.

Wir sind demnach durchaus berechtigt, die Gruppe als *njswt Ḥwj* zu umschreiben und darunter den verstorbenen König Hui zu verstehen. Das bedeutet aber gleichzeitig, daß keiner der Belege des Alten Reiches als zeitgenössische Quelle angesehen werden darf. Die Grabinschrift des Meten mit dem Titel *ḥqꜣ ḥwt njswt Ḥwj* wird deshalb erst am Anfang der 4. Dynastie angebracht worden sein und sich auf ein Gut der Totenopferstiftung für König Hui bezogen haben. Noch König Neferirkare hat ja später diese Stiftung mit einer Zuweisung von Ackerland bedacht und wählte dabei, um den Begünstigten zu benennen, ebenso wie Meten die Verbindung *njswt Ḥwj*, worin wir wohl keinen Zufall, sondern eine von der Tradition geprägte Formulierung sehen sollten. Als zeitlich nicht festlegbar muß dagegen die auf Elephantine gefundene Inschrift gelten. Sie kann dort als Erinnerung an eine wie auch immer geartete Bautätigkeit des Hui sowohl unter König Snofru als auch später angebracht worden sein.

[19]) Auch E. S. Meltzer, *JEA* 57, 1971, S. 202f., kommt beim Versuch einer Deutung der Gruppe ohne die Hypothese einer Fehlinterpretation seitens der Schreiber des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches nicht aus. Zwar lehnt er die Namensform *Nj-swth* ab, versteht aber wie H. Goedicke die ganze Gruppe als Königsnamen in Form eines nom. Nominalsatzes mit dem Substantiv *njswt* und dem aktivischen Partizip *ḥwj*: "it is the King who has smitten". Auch dabei müßte also — ganz abgesehen von der Zweifelhaftigkeit eines Namens *Njswt-ḥwj* — die nur wenig wahrscheinliche Annahme vorausgesetzt werden, daß die späteren Schreiber den Königsnamen mißverstanden haben.

[20]) G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, Berlin 1956, S. 292 Abb. 373 (Berlin 8433).

[21]) Vgl. W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, *ÄgFo* 24, Glückstadt 1968, S. 285.

[22]) Darauf, daß *njswt* in diesem Zusammenhang den verstorbenen König bezeichnet haben könnte, hatte mich vor Jahren bereits J. v. Beckerath gesprächsweise hingewiesen.

[23]) Vgl. auch *Pyr.* 1138b; 1374a; 1638b.

[24]) *Pyr.* 892a/b.

Drei Stelen aus Elkab

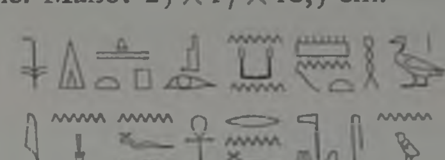
Von Ali Hassan

(Tafel I)

Seit Ende des 19. Jh.s wurden in Elkab, äg. *Nḫb*, griech. Eileithyaspolis, systematische Grabungen von Quibell, Sayce und Clarke[1]) und seit 1937 von Capart[2]) vorgenommen. Die topographische Lage der archäologischen Stätten, die bis 1922 bekannt waren, sind auf einem Plan von Somers Clarke im *JEA* 8, 1922, pl. IV, festgehalten. Die Capartschen Ausgrabungen fanden vor allem innerhalb der großen Umfassungsmauer statt. Das Gebiet, aus dem die hier veröffentlichten Stelen stammen, liegt etwa 150 m nordwestlich der großen Ziegelumfassungsmauer jenseits der Eisenbahnlinie (siehe Taf. Ia) und umfaßte etwa 30 × 30 qm. Bisher hatten in diesem Gebiet noch keine Grabungen stattgefunden. Da durch die geplante Straße zwischen Luxor und Assuan dieses Gebiet überbaut werden sollte, wurde von der Antikenverwaltung in aller Eile von Januar bis März 1964 eine Grabung durchgeführt. Der Platz erwies sich als ein schon alt geplünderter und durch Grundwasser zusätzlich beschädigter Friedhof mit zahlreichen Gräbern. Neben mehreren kleineren Objekten wie Krügen, Opfertafeln aus Ton und einem Spiegel bildeten drei Kalksteinstelen, die im Schutt lagen, den interessantesten Fund. Zwei davon sind sehr gut erhalten, während die dritte stark verwittert ist. Alle drei gehören wohl in die Zeit nach dem MR, d. h. in eine Epoche, aus der wir gerade aus Elkab sehr wenig Material besitzen. Die Darstellungen sind provinziell; die Stifter waren einfache Nekropolenarbeiter. In der Opferformel wird neben Osiris die lokale Geiergöttin Nechbet angerufen.

Stele I (Taf. Ib)

Die Stele besteht aus zwei zusammengehörigen Teilen. Sie ist oben abgerundet und zeigt in der Lunette zwei Udjat-Augen in einer eigentümlichen Form. Die Stelenfläche trägt eine zweizeilige Inschrift mit der üblichen Opferformel. Im unteren Teil sind zwei Personen abgebildet, von denen die rechte stehend der linken eine Wasserspende aus einem *ḥs*-Gefäß darbringt, die von einem Ständer aufgefangen wird. Der linke Mann sitzt auf einem Stuhl und riecht an einer Lotusblume. Maße: 25 × 17 × 10,5 cm.



1 *ḥtp dj nswt Wsjr n kꜣ n Sꜣ n Sꜣ-Mnḫj.t*
2 *jn sn.f sꜥnḫ rn.f ḫrtj-nṯr Snbw*

[1]) J. E. Quibell, *El Kab*. London 1898; Sayce und Somers Clarke, *Report on certain excavations made at El-Kab during the Years* 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, *ASAE* 6 (1905) S. 239ff.; Somers Clarke, *El-Kab and the Great Wall*, *JEA* 7 (1921) S. 54ff.; *El-Kab and its Temples*, *JEA* 8 (1922) S. 16ff.

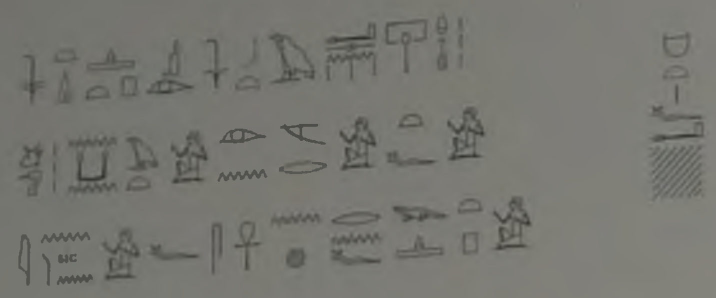
[2]) J. Capart, *Fouilles d'El Kab*, *Documents*, Brussel 1940—1954; J. Stiénon, *El Kab*, *CdE* 25 (1950) S. 36ff.

Übersetzung:

Ein Opfer, das der König gibt dem Osiris[3]) für den Ka des *S3-Mnḫj.t*[4]). Es ist sein Bruder, der seinen Namen am Leben erhält, der Nekropolenarbeiter *Snbw*[5]).

Stele II (Taf. I c)

Die Stele ist an ihrem oberen und unteren Teil etwas beschädigt. Die Lunette zeigt zwei Udjat-Augen. Es folgt eine dreizeilige hieroglyphische Inschrift mit der Opferformel. Im unteren Feld sind zwei sitzende Personen, Mann und Frau, an einer Lotusblüte riechend, dargestellt. Der Schnitt der Figuren wie der der Hieroglyphen ist roh und unbeholfen. Maße: 21 × 15 × 10 cm.



ḥtp dj nswt Wsjr Nḫb.t dj.sn pr.t-hrw t3 ḥk.t

jhw 3pdw n k3 n Mwt jr.n Mr.jt

jn sn.f sʿnḫ rn.f Sbk-ḥtp

Unten: *ḥm.t.f ʿḏ3*(?) . . .

Übersetzung:

Ein Opfer, das der König gibt dem Osiris und der Nechbet[6]). Sie mögen geben ein Totenopfer an Brot, Bier, Rinder und Geflügel für den *Mwt*[7]), erzeugt von *Mr.jt*[8]). Es ist sein Bruder, der seinen Namen am Leben erhält, *Sbk-ḥtp*[9]). Unten: Seine Frau *ʿḏ3*(?)[10]) . . .

Stele III (Taf. I d)

Die Stele ist stark verwittert und an einigen Stellen beschädigt. Die Lunette zeigt wiederum zwei Augen. Es folgen fünf Zeilen einer horizontalen hieroglyphischen Inschrift. Der untere Teil trägt am Rand je eine Zeile einer vertikalen Inschrift. In der Mitte befindet sich eine Dar-

[3]) Zur Schreibung der Königs- und Götterformel in der 13./14. Dyn. s. Barta, *Opferformel*, S. 72f.

[4]) Als Männername nicht belegt, als Frauenname der 18. Dyn. bei Ranke, *PN* I, S. 428,5. Zur *Menḥit*, Göttin von Latopolis s. Bonnet, *RÄRG*, S. 451f.

[5]) *Snbw*, belegt im MR, s. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 314,2.

[6]) Zum Vorkommen der Nechbet in der Götterformel von der 12. Dyn. bis zur 20. Dyn. s. Barta, *Opferformel*, S. 229.

[7]) *Mwt* als Männername im MR belegt, s. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 147,3.

[8]) *Mr.jt*, s. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 155,27; 160,8.

[9]) *Sbk-ḥtp*, s. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 305,6.

[10]) Zu *ʿḏ3* oder mit *ʿḏ3*- gebildeten Namen, s. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 72,11, 12, II, S. 272,27.

stellung mit zwei Personen. Der rechte steht in preisender Haltung vor dem linken, der auf einem Stuhl sitzt und an einer Lotusblume riecht. Maße: 33 × 21 × 10 cm.



(ḥtp dj nswt) . . . . nṯr ꜥꜣ nb ꜣbḏw
Nḫb.t dj.sn pr.t ḫrw tꜣ ḥḳ.t jḥw ꜣpdw ḥtp.t . . . n kꜣ n
jj.s (sms) . . . S-n-Wsr.t jr.n Jꜥ-jb
mwt.f nb.t pr . . . . sn.f Nfr-ḥtp
jn sn.f sꜥnḫ rn.f Jḳd . . . . .
Senkrechte Zeile links: *Mnṯw-m-ḥꜣt*
Senkrechte Zeile rechts: *sn.f Mnṯw . . . . .*

Übersetzung:

Ein Opfer, das der König gibt . . . der große Gott, Herr von Abydos und Nechbet. Sie mögen geben ein Totenopfer an Brot, Bier, Rindern, Vögeln, Speisen . . . für den Ka des Dieners Sesostris[11]), erzeugt von dem *Jꜥ-jb*[12]).

Seine Mutter, die Hausherrin . . . sein Bruder *Nfr-ḥtp*[13]). Es ist sein Bruder, der seinen Namen am Leben erhält.

Jḳd[14]) . . . . .

Senkrechte Zeile links: *Mnṯw-m-ḥꜣt*[15])
Senkrechte Zeile rechts: Sein Bruder *Mnṯw* . . . . .

[11]) *S-n-Wsr.t*, s. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 279, 1.
[12]) *Jꜥ-jb*, s. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 11, 19.
[13]) *Nfr-ḥtp*, s. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 198, 14.
[14]) *Ikd*.. nicht belegt; *Kd* oder mit *Kd-* gebildete Namen: Ranke, *PN* I, S. 337; II, S. 320, 27.
[15]) *Mnṯw-m-ḥꜣt*, s. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 154, 7.

des Innenraumes noch durch den Bautypus der einfachen Vier-Iwan-Anlage von den vorangegangenen mamlukischen Bauten ab. Entsprechendes gilt für die Moschee des Dawūd Paşa von 955/1548[119]). Auch die 935/1528 erbaute Moschee des Sulaimān Paşa von 955/1548[120]) auf der Zitadelle erhielt eine umfangreiche, mamlukisch zu bezeichnende Marmorausstattung, obwohl hier erstmals die Architektur, mit der Adaption des osmanischen Kuppelbaus der veränderten historischen Situation in Kairo Rechnung trägt. Daß im folgenden Marmorinkrustationen seltener werden, geht mit der insgesamt wenig aufwendigen, bescheideneren Bautätigkeit parallel. Die wichtigsten Bauten wie die schon genannte Moschee des Sinan Paşa (979/1571), die Moschee des Murad Paşa (986/1578)[121]) und der Malika Ṣafīya (1019/1610)[122]) bleiben z. B. bis auf einen traditionellen Marmor-Miḥrāb fast ganz undekoriert.

Mit der Moschee al-Burdainī (1038/1628—29)[123]) ändert sich der beschriebene Sachverhalt in bezeichnender Weise. Der in Architektur und Dekoration mamlukisch aussehende Bau ist nicht so sehr das Ergebnis der weitertradierten lokalen Bau- und Dekorgewohnheiten als vielmehr Produkt einer historisierenden Anschauung. Die kleine in allen Details sich auf mamlukische Vorbilder rückbeziehende Moschee sollte, so scheint es, die prächtigsten Züge der vergangenen Kunst aufgreifen und im einzelnen übertreffen. Das äußert sich am deutlichsten in der überreichen Bauornamentik des von der Architektur her eher bescheidenen Baues und vor allem in der üppigen Marmorinkrustation des Innenraumes. Ein entsprechender Fall liegt sodann in der oben besprochenen Moschee des Muṣṭafā Ǧurbaǧī Mīrzā am Ende des Jahrhunderts vor — beides die gelungensten Innenraumdekorationen im osmanischen Kairo.

Der in diesen beiden Bauten sich andeutende Historismus ist auch den künstlerischen Absichten des Ibrāhīm Āġā bei der Neuausstattung der Āqsunqur-Moschee zu unterstellen, wenn er die ursprüngliche Marmorinkrustation des mittelalterlichen Baus wiederverwendet und durch neue Teile mit einer gegenüber den originalen Partien komplizierteren, vielteiligeren Binnenornamentik bereichert. Für diese Arbeiten waren qualifizierte Fachkräfte zur Hand. Nicht so bei der zusätzlich aus der Türkei importierten, in Kairo ungewöhnlichen Fliesendekoration. Deren Versetzung, die in sich schon für die einheimischen Handwerker eine Schwierigkeit bedeutete, konnte in der Zusammenstellung mit der Marmorinkrustation nicht befriedigend gelöst werden. Beide Dekorgattungen stehen unvermittelt neben bzw. übereinander. Anders als bei der mit den gleichen Mitteln geschaffenen Innenausstattung der Moschee des Ǧurbaǧī Mīrzā liegt diese kritische Stelle hier offen zutage, da die Fliesen nach Umfang und vielfältiger Ausbildung das dominierende Element der gesamten Dekoration darstellen. Es zeigt sich hierin, daß dieser qualitätsvolle, unter den späten Iznik-Fliesen hervorragende Fliesenzyklus des Ibrāhīm Āġā zwar für sich betrachtet einmalig in Kairo ist, jedoch in seiner von lokalen Traditionen und Vorbildern bestimmten Anlage zusammen mit einer Marmorinkrustation ein typisches Beispiel für die Problematik des Kunstschaffens im osmanischen Kairo bietet.

[119]) *Bull. du Comité* XXXVII 1933—35 (1940) 138; PAUTY, *Architecture Ottomane* 11, Taf. IIa.

[120]) *CIA* 1/4 1904, 602—604; PAUTY, *Architecture Ottomane* 13ff., fig. 14, Taf. 5; MEINECKE (*op. cit.* Anm. 117) 219f.

[121]) PAUTY, *Architecture Ottomane* 12, Taf. IIc, d. Bei der ebenfalls zu den bedeutendsten osmanischen Moscheen in Kairo zählenden Maḥmūdīya (975/1568) ist auch der Miḥrāb undekoriert, *Bull. du Comité* XXIII 1906 (1907) 118—122, Taf. I—III; PAUTY, *ebenda* 12, Taf. IIIa, b.

[122]) *CIA* 1/4 1904, 609—610; *Bull. du Comité* XXXII 1915—19 (1922) 177—181, Taf. CCXI, CCXV. In den Zwickeln der Miḥrāb-Wölbung sind überdies Einlagen von Iznik-Fliesen, die denen in der Moschee des Altı Barmaq entsprechen.

[123]) *CIA* 1/4 1904, 612—633; PAUTY, *Architecture Ottomane* 11, Taf. Ic.

A Stela of Purification from the Tomb of Kha'emhat at Thebes

By ABDEL-AZIZ F. SADEK

(Taf. XXV—XXVII a)

Late in April 1967 the Centre of Documentation and studies on Ancient Egypt decided to work on the tomb of Kha'emhat (No. 57) is the Theban Necropolis. The present author was charged with the epigraphy of the tomb. During the remaining days of April and a few more days in May a part of the texts was copied. The work stopped at the close of the season and was resumed in October the same year, when it was completed. There remained, however, a stela cut in the west wall of the court of the tomb which, for its protection, had a wall built against it in modern times. In March 1969 the wall was removed for the Centre to work on the stela which is the subject of the present article. (See plate XXVI and Fig. 1).

Tracing back the stela in past literature it was found to have been known to the world of Egyptology since its discovery by MOND during the winter of 1903—1904[1]). In his article MOND mentioned the discovery of the stela, but the photograph he gave is a reversed one. Professor SCHOTT had three photographs of the stela in his collection[2]), and in one of his articles he published a photograph of the upper right-hand part of the stela[3]). M. ABDUL-QADER MOHAMMED in his thesis, which was published in 1966, gave a very short description of the stela derived from the above-mentioned reversed photograph and pointed out that this stela is unusual[4])

Description:

The stela, which is rock-cut, occupies the extreme right of the façade of the tomb. It has a rounded top and measures 1,20 m in height at the middle and 1,04 m at the sides; and is 0,92 m wide.

The material of the stela is a compact finegrained white limestone. The state of preservation is very good concerning the scene on the stela, but the tops of fourteen columns of its text are damaged. A natural crack runs horizontally across its lower part and has been plastered in antiquity. The face of the standing figure in the scene has lost the eye in what might be a deliberately hostile act of some kind.

The photograph in MOND's article shows the stela soot-black. If it has been washed with soap as suggested by him, this would explain for its present whiteness and the absence of colour except in the deepest parts of the relief where it shows traces of yellow ochre.

1) MOND, R., *Report of work in the Necropolis of Thebes during the Winter of* 1903—1904, *ASAE* VI (1905) p. 65 ff.

2) *PM* I, 1, p. 114.

3) SCHOTT, *Die Reinigung Pharaos in einem memphitischen Tempel*, *NAWG* (1957), No. 3, p. 85, pl. VI b.

4) MUHAMMED, M. ABDUL-QADER, *Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes*, Cairo (1966), p. 46.

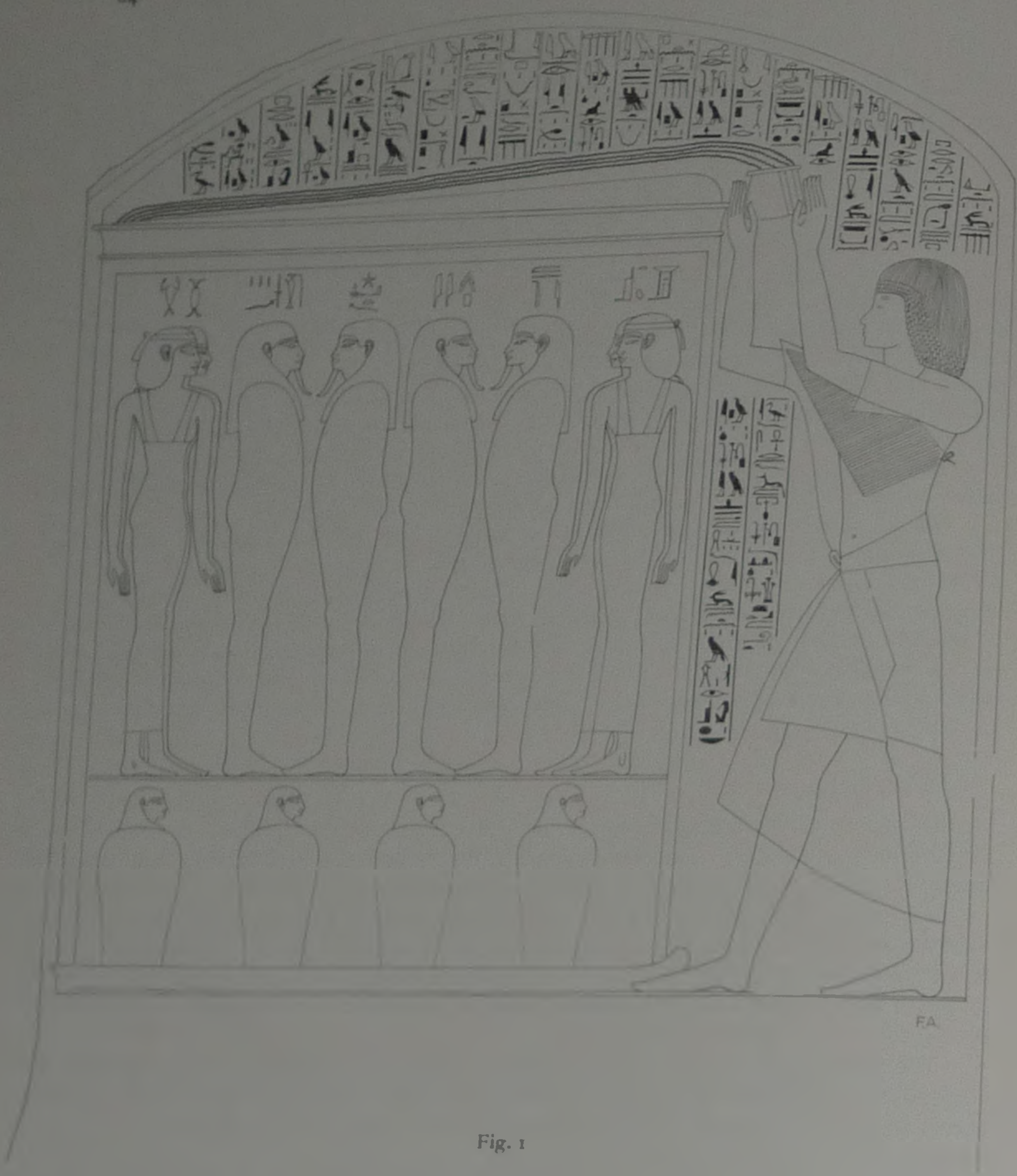


Fig. 1

The style in general is that attested in the luxurious time of Amenophis III. The stela is executed beautifully and elegantly in a manner matching the rest of the reliefs of the tomb of Kha'emhat. The figures are handsome, and the hieroglyphs have a beauty all their own.

This stela proves to be practically unique in its subject and is the only one from the 18th Dyn. hitherto known; but is has just one parallel from the Ramesside Period in the tomb of Pa-ser (N°. 106) in Qurna which will be briefly given below.

The subject displayed is the purification of the canopic shrine of the royal scribe Imhotep by his son Khaꜥemhat. Khaꜥemhat is represented standing with his hands high above the level of his head and is holding four water jars from which four streams of water run above the top of the canopic shrine. The man is clad in the usual short kilt and a long robe with short sleeves tied at the waist with a belt broader at the back. On his breast he wears a pleated apron tied from behind. He wears a wig and is bare-footed.

The canopic shrine, which is very closely similar in shape to that of Tutꜥankhamon, stands on a sledge or runners. It is square and has a top sloping backwards. On the side of the shrine there are two registers; the lower shows the four canopic jars with their anthropoid lids typical of the period. The upper register shows Isis and Nephthys to the right ←, Selket and Neith to the left →, and the four sons of Horus in between. Mesty and Hapy to the right face one another, while Duamutef and Kebehsenuef, to the left, also face one another. Each of the goddesses and the sons of Horus has her, or his, name above the head according to each one's direction.

Isis and Nephthys are represented side by side with the former hiding the greater part of the latter in the typical Egyptian way of representing a row of persons. Selket and Neith are treated likewise. The four goddesses are clad in tight robes with their arms hanging at their sides. The four sons of Horus are represented in mummy form.

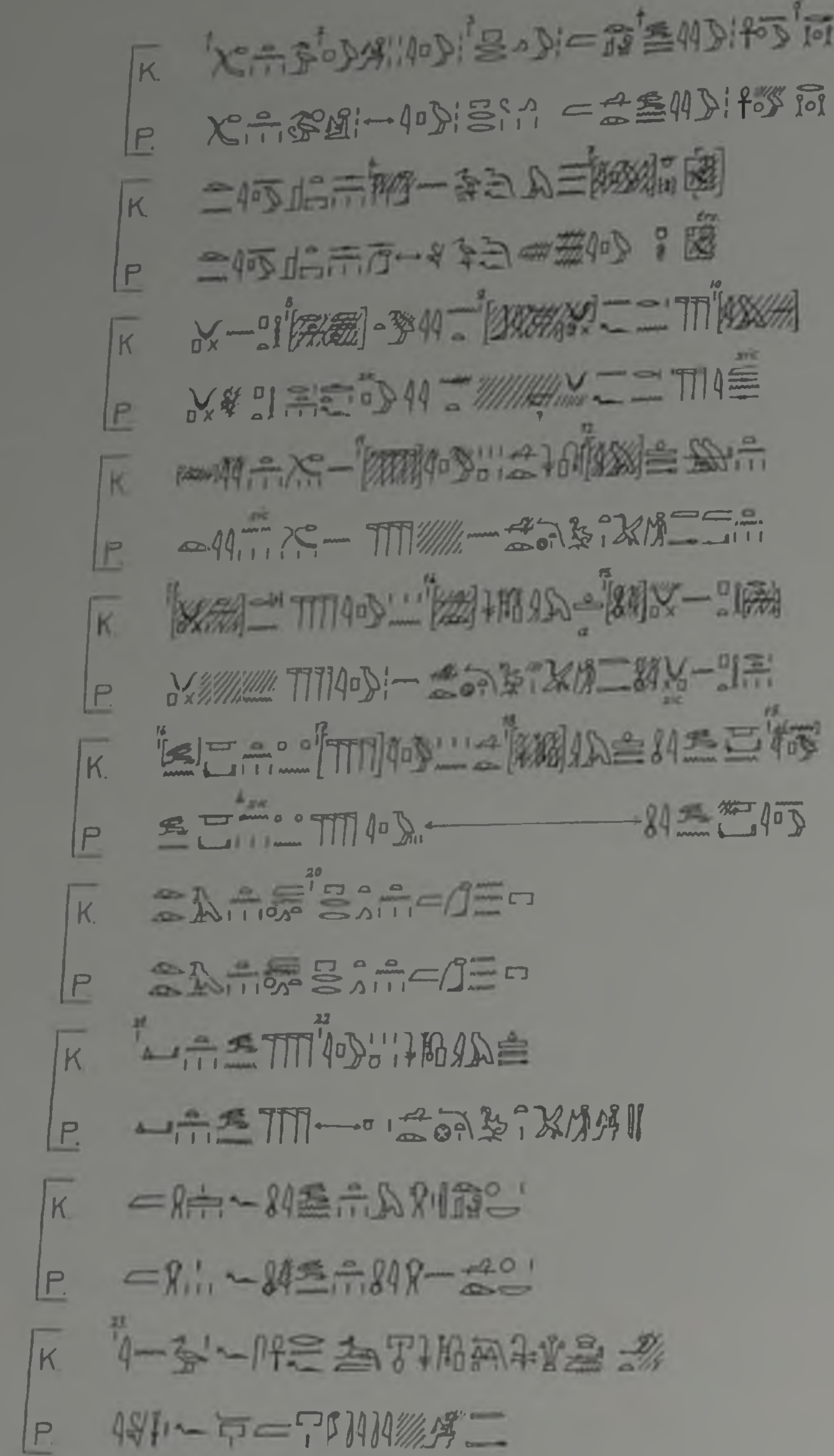
The upper part of the stela is accupied by 21 columns of hieroglyphs, unequal in height due to the rounded top. The text is completed by two more columns in front of the standing figure of Khaꜥemhat adding up to 23; the text runs from left to right.

As already mentioned, the only parallel to the above-described stela is in the tomb of Pa-ser (N°. 106) in Qurna. This, however, is one part of a double-scene stela of the false door type cut on the right side of the facade of the tomb. It is framed by two jambs and a lintal surmounted by the Egyptian cornice (Pl. XXV). The area inside this setting which is occupied by the stela is divided into two registers. The lower one is a long text, more than half of which is lost. The upper half comprises two back-to-back scenes each accompanied by its own text. Above, there is a curved line marking the top of the stela. The scene to the left represents the purification of the mummy. The right-hand scene, which is our main concern, represents the purification of the canopic chest of Pa-ser by his brother Tyty. The scene is executed in the same manner as that of Khaꜥemhat with only a few insignificant differences. The workmanship is inferior compared with the former example.

The texts are here given in parallel from both stelae, in order to fill the lacunae (Fig. 2).

Translation:

You are pure, these four spirits, who come out of Osiris, who are living to eternity, whose seat Anubis has made, which is purified by Thoth himself with these waters of *Hwt*-[*wꜥbt*]. Ptah has opened [your mouth with his chisel] this one of [iron] with [which] he [op]ens the mouth of the gods. You shall [make] purifications for [these four deities] of the Osiris, the royal scribe [Im]hotep, the justified, who is among you. [You shall op]en the mouth of these four deities of the [Osiris] the royal scribe Imhotep as Ptah has opened [your] mouth. You shall open the eyes of these [four deities] of the Osiris [the royal scribe] Imhotep, the justified, as [An]ubis



Textual Notes.

a. No space for

b. Space too small for

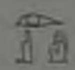
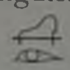
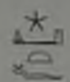
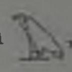
Fig. 2

has opened your eyes after you have come out of the Waʿbet. You shall cause these four deities, of the Osiris the royal scribe Imhotep, the justified, to be his protection, even as you are the protection of Osiris every day. By his son, reviving his name, master of the secrets in Per-nefer, the royal scribe, overseer of the granaries of the South and the North, Khaʾem[ha]t.

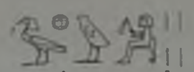
COMMENTARY

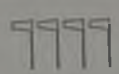
Orthography:

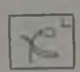
In general, the orthography of this stela is typical of the 18th Dynasty. Yet there are two things to be noted:

1. The scribe distinguished between Osiris the god and Osiris the deceased by using  for the former and  for the latter.
2. The writing of Duamutef as  rather than the more usual orthography with , however, this is not unusual in the 18th Dyn.

Text:

 The four Akhu are the four sons of Horus. This is not in doubt; cf. *Pyr.* 842b, 1092b—d; also sarcophagus, *CGC* 29301 in Maspero, *Sarcophages des Epoques Persane et Ptolémaique*, I, fasc. 1 (Cairo 1908), p. 65, where it is explicitly pronounced that the four Akhu are in Mesty, Hapy, Duamutef and Kebehsenuef respectively.

 In all probability the deities meant are the group Isis, Nephthys, Selket and Neith. This is not inconsistent with the text, in which one may possibly distinguish the four sons of Horus as the "Akhus" from the four goddesses termed *nṯrw* 4, 'four deities'.

 In the light of the traces of the sign still visible in the Pa-ser version (see Fig. 3), this reading as *Ḥwt wʿb(t)* is very attractive. If accepted, this occurence will take back the history

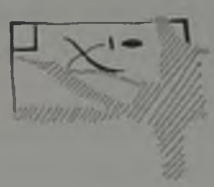
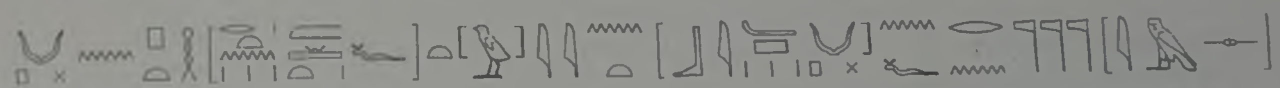


Fig. 3

of the term over a millenium before the well-attested Graeco-Roman examples, for which cf. Chassinat, *Mammisi d'Edfou*, p. 33, 77, 82; Chassinat, *BIFAO*, X, pp. 187 et 190.



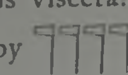
For this reconstruction, compare *Todtenbuch*, I, Taf. XXXIV, chapter 23. For the orthography cf. *bἰ3*, cf. *Wb.*, I, 436. For the translation as iron cf. J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Materials*, p. 50ff.

Subject Matter:

As already noted, the subject of this stela is highly unusual, without its like in any other 18th Dynasty tomb in the Theban Necropolis. From later periods, there is but a single example in the tomb of Pa-ser (No. 106) in Qurna. This, however, seems merely to be an inaccurate copy of our stela. Several grammatical errors suggest that either the ideas of the text copied were not fully understood or else that the copyist was a little careless in his work. Perhaps Pa-ser and his scribes sought to imitate older traditions. The act of purifying the canopic shrine or the canopic jars or chest must have been usual enough, but not deserving of a special stela. It might have been a kind of luxury provision on Khaꜥemhat's part.

It is quite obvious that Khaꜥemhat, in making the water purification, is playing a priestly role, perhaps of a Sem-priest as Schott noted[5]). The libation is carried out four times as represented by the four waterjars with their streams of water.

The shrine as represented constitutes an integration of a physical and a spiritual or religious component. The physical aspect is represented by the four canopic jars with their anthropocephalous lids, which contain the deceased's viscera. On the religious plane, the four sons of Horus (here mummiform) act as guardians of the viscera[6]). Moreover the four sons of Horus also represent the deceased himself, as indicated by the passage: *iry.tn wꜥbw n nṯrw ḏdw ipw nw Wsir sš nsw Imḥtp mꜣꜥ ḫrw mm.tn* (he being represented by his viscera?).

The four goddesses who may subsequently be referred to by  in the text affirm this notion, they being in protection of Osiris, of the deceased and of the four sons of Horus[7]). Isis and Nephthys protect Mesty and Hapy respectively, while Selket and Neith protect Kebehsenuf and Duamutef likewise. This agrees with the arrangement of the scene and the text on the canopic chest of Tutꜥankhamon[8]).

So, it could be said that the scene represents a libation or purification of both the viscera and the deceased himself combined in the form discussed above.

Orientation and Comparison of the Two Steleae:

Certain similarities between these two examples tempt us to see here an established tradition and a pattern which is preserved just in these two examples. On the other hand we are inclined to think of the stela in the tomb of Khaꜥemhat as virtually unique, and of the other example in the tomb of Pa-ser as an imitation.

We may first consider the location of the two stelae. Both are cut on the right side of the façade, i. e the north side. Both façades face East. Now, if we bear in mind that the Egyptian was precise in his own way with orientations, and we examine the direction of the canopic-chest on its sledge as shown on the stela of Khaꜥemhat, we find that it faces more-or-less geographical North. This however, is not a direction that was significant for the Egyptians. In fact, it also faces in the direction of the Theban mountain which is conventionally in the West[9]). This cannot

5) Schott, *Loc. Cit.*
6) Bonnet, *RÄRG* 368.
7) Gardiner, A. H. and Davies, N. de G., *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, London (1915), p. 113.
8) Carter, H., *Tutankhamon* III, p. 47, pls. IX, X, LIII.
9) Cf. the remarks of Gardiner-Davies, *Amenemhet*, p. 113 on the orientation of the canopic chest on its runners to the west.

be applied to the other example, for in the place where the tomb of Pa-ser is situated the mountain retreats backwards and the canopic-chest merely faces North.

Other than what has been mentioned in way of comparison between the two stelae there remains but one point to be noted here. As already mentioned above, the stela of Pa-ser is one part of a double-scene stela where one scene is concerned with the purification of the mummy and the other with the purification of the canopic-chest. In the Khaꜥemhat's example the stela stands individually by itself complementing another rockcut stela to its left of which remains the lower parts of the main persons of the theme, and different implements and offerings concerning the opening of the mouth (Pl. XXVIIa).

Amenophis III., dargestellt und angerufen als Osiris (*wnn-nfrw*)

Von Ali Radwan

(Taf. XXVIIb)

Im Ägyptischen Museum Berlin befindet sich unter der Inventar-Nummer 7769 ein rechteckiger Reliefblock (Denkstein?) aus Kalkstein (Taf. XXVIIb), dessen rechte Hälfte gebrochen ist[1]). Die Bildfläche ist in zwei Felder geteilt: Rechts thront eine Gottheit, von der nur Beine und rechter Arm erhalten sind, auf einem Maat-Podest. Vom Text vor ihr ist nur *ḥḳ3-ḏ.t*, „der Herrscher der *ḏ.t*-Ewigkeit", erhalten, was sich wohl nur auf Osiris beziehen kann[2]). In seinen Händen hielt er, wie aus der Haltung des rechten Armes zu schließen ist, Heka-Szepter und Geißel[3]). Vor dem nach links blickenden Osiris steht eine *i3.t*-Standarte[4]) mit einem *k3*-Zeichen darauf, das eine Federkartusche Amenophis' III. *(Mn-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ)* hält[5]). In der linken Bildhälfte steht, mit Blickrichtung zur Kartusche und Gottheit[6]), der Besitzer dieses Reliefs, dessen Frau hinter ihm folgt. Er hebt betend die Hände, während die Frau in der auf die Brust gelegten linken Hand das Schleifenamulett[7]) hält und ihre Rechte ehrfürchtig nach unten senkt. Ein kleiner Hymnus in zwei Kolumnen vor dem Mann lautet:

„(1) *rdi.t-i3w*[a]) *n nṯr-nfr*[b]) *sn-t3 (n) wnn-nfr(w) di.i i3w n ḥr.k* (2) *nfr*[c]) *dw3(.i) nfrw.k*[d]) *sḥtp(.i) tw m ḥb nb n nḥḥ in(*3*)s3-nsw n(*4*)ḥ3[.t Imn] wʿb(*5*)wṯs I[m]n*[e]) (6) *Nḫt(*7*)ḥm.t.f mrj.t.f šmʿj.t [n(.t) Imn] nb.t pr Mw.t-nfr.t*"

„Den guten Gott preisen, die Erde (für) *Wnn-nfrw* küssen. Ich gebe einen Lobpreis für dein schönes Antlitz. (Ich) preise deine Schönheit (Vollkommenheit). (Ich) befriedige dich an jedem Fest der *Nḥḥ*-Ewigkeit; durch den Königssohn vor Amon, den *wʿb*-Priester, der Amon trägt, Nacht und seine Gemahlin, seine Geliebte, die Sängerin des Amon, die Hausherrin, Mut-Nefret."

[1]) *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*[2] (1899) 133; *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* II (1924) 119; *Urk.* IV 1929—30. Herrn Dr. St. Wenig darf ich für das hier publizierte Photo herzlich danken.

[2]) *Wb* III 172,20; W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, *MÄS* 10 (1966) 4f., Anm. 13, sowie 101 unter *ḏ.t*.

[3]) Vgl. dazu z.B. H. Bonnet, *RÄRG* (1952) 211f., 400f., 572.

[4]) *Wb* I 27.7; A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, *Sign List* R 12.

[5]) Solche *k3*-Kartuschen (d. h. eine Kartusche in ein *k3*-Zeichen gesetzt) sind nicht selten, vgl. z.B.: G. Legrain-E. Naville, *L'aile nord du pylône d'Aménophis III à Karnak* (1902) 15f., Taf. XIII(B) (Thutmosis III.); J. de Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments* I (1894) 95 (Amenophis II.); A. Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, *MMFAO* 15,1 (1894) Taf. IX, Fig. 58 (vgl. auch Taf. I, Fig. 2, Taf. LXIV, Fig. 196) (Amenophis III.); C. Aldred, *Echnaton* (1968) 121, Taf. 41 (Amenophis IV.).

[6]) Für eine vielleicht absichtliche Verteilung dieser Szenen vgl. W. Westendorf, *op. cit.* 19, Anm. 16, 29f. (Abb. 19).

[7]) Zur sog. ‚Schleife der Wiedergeburt' vgl. Westendorf, *op. cit.* 60, Anm. 22, sowie A. Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs*, *MÄS* 21 (1969) 93, Anm. 85.

Die Datierung dieses Reliefs ergibt sich nicht nur aus der Wiedergabe des Namens Amenophis' III., sondern auch aus der absichtlichen Zerstörung des Amon-Namens in der Echnaton-Zeit. Dazu kommen die Tracht und die Frisur des Ehepaares, die für die Mitte der 18. Dynastie üblich sind. Die Bearbeitung des Reliefs ist ganz einfach und gibt keine Details (z.B. Haartracht) wieder, wobei die Vermutung nahe liegt, daß es unvollendet gelassen oder nicht sorgfältig ausgeführt wurde.

I. Bemerkungen zu der Inschrift

a) *rdi.t-iꜣw:* (*Wb* I 28,3—4) E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches*, I, *Die Phraseologie* (1970) 335f.; auch bei der Begrüßung und Verehrung des Königs durch Ausländer in der 18. Dynastie belegt, vgl. dazu z. B. A. Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs*, *MÄS* 21 (1969), 54 (theb. Grab 86), 54 (Grab 85), 59 (Grab 84), vgl. auch 17, Anm. 76 (Grab 192).

b) *nṯr-nfr:* als Titel des lebenden Königs. Eine neue Übersetzung wurde von E. Blumenthal, *op. cit.* 24, vgl. auch 79 vorgeschlagen: „Präsenter Gott". Aufgrund der eventuellen Bedeutung des Wortes *nfr* bzw. *nfrw* (siehe unten) möchte ich den Titel als: „der glänzende bzw. strahlende Gott" übersetzen.

c) *ḥr-nfr* (*Wb* II 255. 5—9; III 125f.)

M. Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (1946), 98, 108ff.

Vermutlich ist diese Bezeichnung auf Osiris durch seine Verschmelzung mit Ptah-Sokaris übergegangen[8]). In einem Hymnus an Re-Atum (O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des Statues et Statuettes Egyptiennes* [1950] 30f., Taf. 62, Z. 7—8) wird auch zu diesem Gott gesagt: „*di.sn hknw n ḥr.k nfr, swꜣš.sn nfrw.k*", „Sie geben Lobpreis für dein schönes Antlitz, sie verehren deine Schönheit [Strahlen!]"[9]). Auch vom Aton ist das schöne Antlitz erwähnt (z.B. Davies, *El-Amarna* V, Taf. II, Z. 8; V, Taf. XXV, Z. 7).

d) *dwꜣ nfrw:* E. Blumenthal, *op. cit.* 338, G. 5.32; vgl. auch *ibid.* 79 (B 3.5); W. Westendorf, *op. cit.*, 30, Anm. 29; 40, Anm. 20; A. Radwan, *op. cit.* 104, Anm. 35; Davies, *El-Amarna*, I (1903) Taf. XXXVIII, (links Z. 6—7).

Die Bedeutung des Wortes *nfrw* ist verschiedenartig. Die neue Erklärung E. Blumenthals als „Präsenz" ist wohl richtig. Eindeutig werden mit *nfrw* in der Amarnazeit die Strahlen der Sonne gemeint. Man könnte, aus dieser zentralen Bedeutung (Strahlen bzw. Glanz) heraus alle anderen Übersetzungen: Gutes, Schönheit, Präsenz ... usw., ableiten. Ob auch die Bedeutung „Spitze des Obelisken" (*ZÄS* 95 [1969] 128), aus der „Strahlen"-Vorstellung abzuleiten ist?

e) *sꜣ-nsw n ḥꜣt Imn, wꜥb wṯs Imn:* H. Kees, *Webpriester der 18. Dynastie im Trägerdienst bei Prozessionen*, *ZÄS* 85 (1960) 45ff.; H. Kees, *Priestertum*, 20f., 75, Anm. 2.

[8]) Für diese Verschmelzung vgl. M. Sandmann-Holmberg, *op. cit.* 123ff.; H. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 618f.; B. J. Peterson, *ZÄS* 95 (1969) 135ff.; G. A. Gaballa und K. A. Kitchen, *Orientalia* 38 (1969) 22ff.

[9]) Zu Osiris und Sonne vgl. z.B. W. Westendorf, *op. cit.* 5ff., 17, 19, 27, Anm. 20, 41, Anm. 24; G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris*, *MÄS* 9 (1966) 24, 47, 59; H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 47 (1961) 34; G. A. Gaballa-K. A. Kitchen, *op. cit.* 60—62, 71ff.; W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, *ÄgFo* 24 (1968) 316.

II. *rdi.t-i3w* vor dem König

(1) STEINDORFF, *Aniba* II, Tafeln (1937) 34, Taf. 18 (2).
Auf einem Türsturz betet der Königssohn, der Vorsteher der südlichen Fremdländer, *Nhj* (PM I² 461), zu beiden Seiten die mit Uräen, Hörnern und Sonnenscheibe versehene Kartusche Thutmosis' III. an.

Rechts steht: „Den Herrn der beiden Länder preisen, die Erde für den Herrn der Götter küssen."

Links: „Den Herrn der beiden Länder preisen, die Erde für den guten (glänzenden) Gott küssen."

Im fernen Nubien scheute man sich nicht, Thutmosis III. als Herrn der Götter anzurufen (vgl. dazu T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Ägypten und Nubien* [1941] 203, Anm. 5, 6).

(2) *CGG.* 42121: LEGRAIN, *Statues et Statuettes*, 69f., Taf. LXXI; Hockende Statue des *Nfr-pr.t*, eine Stele vor sich haltend: Der thronend abgebildete Thutmosis III. wird auf der Stele angerufen: „Den Herrn der beiden Länder preisen, die Erde für den starken König küssen." Thutmosis III., der in den Inschriften dieser Statue als Gott bzw. Totengott in der Opferformel fungiert (W. HELCK, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* I 877 [95]; F.W. v. BISSING, *AfO* 8 [1932/33] 123ff., Taf. auf S. 125), ist also wohl nicht der regierende, sondern der verstorbene Herrscher, der ja mit gutem Recht an Osiris' Stelle treten konnte (A. HERMANN, *Stelen, ÄgFo* 11 [1940] 39)[10]).

(3) PM I² 198 (3): A. RADWAN, *op. cit.*, 106, Anm. 17. Beischrift auf einer Stele: „Den Herrn der beiden Länder preisen, die Erde für den guten (glänzenden) Gott küssen, den seligen, und für seine *W3d.t*-Schlange. (Ich) verehre seine Majestät zu jeder Zeit, (ich) preise (seinen) Vater *Wnn-nfr(w)*, täglich durch . . . usw."

Daß Amenophis II. hier als *m3ʿ-ḫrw* bezeichnet ist, ist einmalig. Mit dem Vater *Wnn-nfr* dürfte wohl der tote König Thutmosis III. gemeint sein.

(4) PM I² 155 (11): *Urk.* IV 1589; ein Totengericht vor dem thronenden Osiris. Der Grabinhaber verehrt diesen Gott und sagt: „Osiris, den ersten der Westlichen preisen, die Erde für *Wnn-nfr*, den Herrn von Abydos, den großen Gott, den Herrn des Himmels küssen. Ich gebe dir einen Lobpreis, du guter Gott, du mögest gelobt sein jeden Tag. Es wurde gedient dem guten Gott, dem Herrn der beiden Länder *ʿ3-ḫpr.w-Rʿ* (Amenophis II.) mit Leben beschenkt, und seinem Sohn, seinem Geliebten, dem Herrn der Kronen[11]) *Mn-ḫpr.w-Rʿ* (Thutmosis IV.), mit Leben beschenkt, und seinem Sohn, seinem Geliebten, dem Herrn des Fremdlandes, *Mn-m3ʿt-Rʿ*, dem Sohn des Re, *Imn-ḥtp-ḥḳ3-W3s.t* (Amenophis III.), der von Amon geliebt ist."

Mit den Worten „du guter Gott" ist m. E. nur der verstorbene, zum Osiris gewordene Thutmosis III. gemeint[12]). Daher erscheint auch seine Kartusche im Osiris-Kiosk. Das

[10]) Vgl. dazu auch W. SPIEGELBERG-B. PÖRTNER, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Süddeutschen Sammlungen* I (1902) Taf. XIV (26). Für die Hinweise über die Vergöttlichung Thutmosis' III. vgl. demnächst A. RADWAN, *Die Vergöttlichung Thutmosis' III.*

[11]) Vgl. D. B. REDFORD, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (1967) 18; E. BLUMENTHAL, *op. cit.* 45 (A. 6.2).

[12]) Für die Verwendung des koniglichen Titels *ntr nfr* bei manchen Gottheiten vgl. z.B.: H. O. *Lange* – H. *Schafer*, *Grab und Denksteine des MR*, *CGC* 545 b, 604 b und 20086; *Hieroglyphic Texts Brit. Mus.* VII, Taf.

erklärt die rätselhafte Erscheinung der vier Kartuschen gleich neben diesem Kiosk[13]). Der Grabinhaber diente unter den Königen Amenophis II., Thutmosis IV. und Amenophis III., zu denen Thutmosis III. als verstorbener Vater bzw. Osiris gehörte.

(5) PM I² 109 (6): Urk. IV 1776.
Der Grabinhaber (Ramose-Grab 55) verehrt Osiris: „Osiris preisen, die Erde für *Wnn-nfr(w)*, den Gerechtfertigten, küssen. Gegrüßt seist du, König und Herr bis zur *Nḥḥ*-Ewigkeit." Es fragt sich, ob mit „Osiris-*Wnn-nfr*, dem Gerechtfertigten, dem König und Herrn bis zur *Nḥḥ*-Ewigkeit" nicht doch der verstorbene Amenophis III. gemeint wurde[14]). Es ist bekannt, daß Ramose, der noch unter Amenophis IV. gedient hatte, den alten König überlebte.

(6) Berlin 2093: *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*² (1899) 133.
„Amon-Re preisen, die Erde für deinen Ka küssen, (du) Herr der Götter. Ich gebe einen Lobpreis für dein schönes Antlitz. Ich befriedige den Ka des Königs, der von der Maat lebt[15]), den Herrn der beiden Länder *Wsr-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ-stp-n-Rʿ*, er möge heil und gesund leben[16]). Aufgrund der Arbeit von L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, S. 43, möchte ich an eine Verbindung bzw. Verschmelzung zwischen dem hier angerufenen Ramses II. und Amon-Re denken[17]). Die Erwähnung des Ka (H. Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 385; E. Blumenthal, *op. cit.* 271 [G 1.17]; D. Wildung, *MÄS* 17 [1969] 144; 232, 1) des Königs schließt nicht aus, daß er schon verstorben sein sollte. Ungeachtet der Annahme einer Mitregentschaft von Thutmosis III. und Amenophis II. bin ich inzwischen überzeugt, daß der auf der Leidener Stele (Boeser, *Beschreibung* VI, Taf. VII [8]; A. Radwan, *op. cit.* 33, Anm. 193) thronend abgebildete und in der Opferformel erwähnte Thutmosis III. der verstorbene König ist.

III. Zur Deutung der Szene

Bei der Anbringung der Ka-Kartusche Amenophis' III. zwischen der thronenden Gottheit (Osiris) und dem verehrenden Ehepaar denkt man zuerst, daß mit „*nṯr nfr*" der König und mit „*wnn-nfr(w)*" Osiris gemeint sei[18]). Allerdings haben wir oben gesehen, daß *nṯr nfr*, obwohl

46; B. *Bruyère*, *Fouilles de Deir El-Medineh* (1934–35), Le Caire (1939), S. 310, Fig. 181; *Hieroglyphic Texts Brit. Mus.* III (1912) Taf. 23 (Osiris); *Urk.* IV 1770 (Osiris bzw. der verstorbene Amenophis III.!); G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des Alten Ägypten* (1923) 4; J. Černy, *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection* (1958) Nr. 4 (Amon-Re); *Urk.* IV 2096 (Re); G. Fecht, *ZÄS* 85 (1960) 93, 98, 102 (Aton); G. Steindorff, *Aniba* II, *Text* (1937) 66 (Re-Harachti); H. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 89f. (Behedti); vgl. dazu auch G. Posener, *ZÄS* 93 (1966) 115ff., der vom König Amon spricht und den Namen Chonsou als „le fils de ce pharaon" erklärt.

13) T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* (1941) 142, Anm. 2.

14) Für die Verwendung *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* beim toten König bzw. Osiris vgl. z.B. G. Griffiths, *op. cit.* 120; E. Blumenthal, *op. cit.* 55; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.* 142, Anm. 2; M. Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (1946) 101; G. A. Gaballa-K. A. Kitchen, *Orientalia* 38 (1969) 28, Anm. 3, 47, Anm. 1, S. 58.

15) Vgl. dazu z.B. M. Plantikow-Münster, *ZÄS* 95 (1969) 120, Anm. 20; *Hieroglyphic Texts Brit. Mus.* VIII (1939) 30; G. Steindorff, *Aniba* II, *Text* (1937) 66; H. Kees, *Götterglaube* (1941) 369, Anm. 2; E. Blumenthal, *op. cit.* 433ff.; S. Morenz, *Heraufkunft des transzendenten Gottes* (1964) 39, Anm. 2.

16) Vgl. dazu P. Munro, *ZÄS* 95 (1969) 107, Anm. 76.

17) Für eine solche Verschmelzung mit Amon oder anderen Gottheiten vgl. z.B. H. W. *Fairman*, *The Kingship Rituals of Egypt*, in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship* (ed. S. H. Hooke), Oxford 1958, S. 104; E. Blumenthal, *op. cit.* 98ff.; M. Sandmann-Holmberg, *op. cit.* 80ff.; E. Otto, *Osiris und Amun* (1966) 102; *Urk.* IV 1749. Dies gilt m. E. auch für die gemeinsame Erwähnung von Ptah und König Unas in einer Opferformel des MR, Ahmed Moussa, *MDIK* 27 (1971), 83 und Taf. XIII—XIV; Ptah steht hier für Osiris; dazu vgl. M. Sandman-Holmberg, *op. cit.* 123ff. (1955); G. Griffiths, *op. cit.* 24, 159f.

18) Für *wnn-nfrw* und *nṯr-nfr* als Beiworte des Osiris bzw. des Königs vgl. D. Wildung, *op. cit.* 118, Anm. 9.

es im allgemeinen für den lebenden König bezeichnend ist, doch auch bei Gottheiten (besonders Osiris) ab und zu vorkommt. Wenn unsere Beischrift aber zwischen *nṯr nfr* (König) und *wnn-nfr* (Osiris) keinen Unterschied macht, d. h. nur eine Gottheit anredet (vgl. *ḥr.k*, *nfrw.k* und *sḥtp-(.j).tw*), so ist das der Beweis, daß Amenophis III. hier als Osiris angerufen wird. Sollte man an die übliche Mittlerrolle des Königs in der 18. Dynastie denken und für unsere Szene dieselbe Erklärung suchen? So erhebt sich jedoch die Schwierigkeit, daß die Kartusche (d. h. die Hieroglyphen des Königsnamens) nicht zur Gottheit blickt, sondern wie die Gottheit selbst zum Anbetenden[19]). Damit wird gesagt, daß sich hier auf dem Thron der Osiris-Amenophis III. selbst befindet[20]).

In der Regierungszeit Amenophis' III. erreicht die Verherrlichung des Königtums und die Vergöttlichung des Konigs einen Hohepunkt[21]). Außer in Nubien (Soleb)[22]) ist Amenophis III. in Theben als Sohn von Ptah und Sechmet[23]) und in Memphis sogar als Partner des Ptah verehrt[24]). Der Königskult gipfelt im westlichen Theben im riesigen Totentempel des Königs[25]). In religiösen Texten wurde derselbe Herrscher nach seinem Tod zusammen mit der Königin Teje parallel zu den Totengöttern (Osiris-Isis) angerufen[26]). Die bildliche Darstellung des verstorbenen Königs Amenophis III. als Osiris ist daher in dieser Zeit, unmittelbar nach dem Tod Amenophis III., durchaus nicht ungewöhnlich.

In welcher Beziehung stand der auf dem Relief anbetend dargestellte Nacht zum verstorbenen König?[27]). Nach Aussage seiner Titel und der seiner Frau gehört er der Priesterschaft des Amon an. Mit Amon ist hier vielleicht der Gastgott im Totentempel Amenophis' III. bzw. „der wieder zum Amon gewordene verstorbene König dieses Tempels" (E. Otto, *Osiris und Amun* [1966] 102)[28]) gemeint. Nacht erbittet direkt nichts von seinem Osiris-König. Es ist aber klar, daß

[19]) Es ist ja bekannt, daß die hieroglyphischen Zeichen des Königsnamens dorthin orientiert werden, wohin der König selbst blickt (vgl. z.B. Davies, *Ken-Amun* I, Taf. IX. Hier wendet sich der auf dem Schoß getragene König zu seiner Amme. Dazu stimmt die Richtung der Hieroglyphen der beiden Kartuschen). Fur die Reihenfolge Gottheit—Königsname—Mensch vgl. z.B. R. A. Caminos, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I (1963) 70f., Taf. 54; A. Radwan, *op. cit.* 106, Anm. 14 (Thutmosis I.); J. de Morgan, *Cat. des Monuments* I (1894) 40 (178), 90 (79) (Amenophis III.); W. Spiegelberg-B. Pörtner, *Aegytpische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus suddeutschen Sammlungen* I (1902) Taf. XVIII (Ramses II.); B. Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Medineh* (1930) Fig. 10 (Ramses III.). Etwas Ähnliches wurde auch im Rundbild ausgedruckt (ob absichtlich?): O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des Statues et Statuettes Egyptiennes* (1950) 35f., Taf. 70—71.

[20]) Die Tatsache, daß Amenophis III. hier der verstorbene bzw. vergöttlichte Konig ist, wird nicht nur durch die *i3.t*-Standarte mit dem Ka verstarkt, sondern auch durch seine Federkartusche, die „die vergöttlichte Namensform" (D. Wildung, *op. cit.* 185, Anm 12, sowie 112, Anm. 11) eines zum Osiris gewordenen Königs sein soll. Die Sonnenscheibe soll Re (d. h. Tag) und die Feder Osiris (d. h. Nacht) darstellen (W. Westendorf, *op. cit.* 17); für solche Aspekte in der Kartusche selbst vgl. W. Westendorf, *op. cit.* 27, Anm. 20; W. Barta, *ZÄS* 98 (1970) 5ff.

[21]) Zur Vergöttlichung des agyptischen Königs vgl. vor allem D. Wildung, *op. cit.* 262 (Verzeichnis); L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*; H. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 857ff.

[22]) W. C. Hayes, *CAH* II, Chapter IX, Part 1, 32, Anm. 4; D. B. Redford, *History and Chronology*, 95ff.; D. Wildung, *op. cit.* 11, Anm. 7, 113, Anm. 12.

[23]) M. Sandman-Holmberg, *Ptah* 189, Anm. 30.

[24]) W. C. Hayes, *op. cit.* 32, Anm. 6; M. Sandman-Holmberg, *op. cit.* 213f.

[25]) W. C. Hayes, *op. cit.* 32, Anm. 3; L. Habachi, *Deification* 48.

[26]) *Hieroglyphic Texts Brit. Mus.* VII (1925) Taf. 21 (834); vgl. dazu A. Rowe, *ASAE* 40 (1941) 624.

[27]) Eine Erwahnung dieses Mannes und seiner Frau findet sich bei W. M. F. Petrie, *A Season in Egypt* (1888) 24 (9). Die Lesung seines Namens als *Nbt-Imn* (*Urk.* IV 1929—30) ist falsch (vgl. H. Kees, *ZÄS* 85 [1960] 47).

[28]) Hierzu vgl. oben Anm. 17; erwahnenswert ist die Bezeichnung bei Nacht (Petrie, *op. cit.*), daß er *im3ḫw* bei Osiris und *m3ʿ ḫrw* bei Amon ist, vgl. dazu E. Otto, *op. cit.* 119; A. Hermann, *Stelen*, *ÄgFo.* 11 (1940) 4 (Text).

seine Verehrung und noch mehr seine verdienstvollen Leistungen auf Erden *(sḥtp(.j) tw m ḥḥ nb n nḥḥ)* „in Erwartung eines Lohnes“ geschehen[29]).

Zum Schluß muß auf den geschichtlichen Wert unserer Szene hingewiesen werden. Die dargelegten Erklärungen dürften ausreichen, aus dieser Szene einen Hinweis auf den Tod Amenophis III. anzuleiten. Außerdem ergibt sich ein Herstellungsdatum, das vor dem Bruch Amenophis IV. mit Amon liegt. Mit anderen Worten, dieses Relief wurde hergestellt, bevor Echnaton den Befehl gab, den Namen Amons überall auszutilgen. Daß dieser Befehl unmittelbar nach der Verlegung der Residenz nach Achet-Aton (Tell el-Amarna) erging, ist wohl zu erwarten. Die Fertigstellung des Reliefs geschah also in einer Zeit, in der Echnaton in Theben lebte und noch Amenhotep hieß.

[29]) BONNET, *RÄRG* 405; E. BLUMENTHAL, *op. cit.* 414 (G 8. 82), 345 (G 6. 5); *Urk.* IV 1633.

Aton Studies*)

By Sayed Tawfik

(Taf. XXVIII—XXIX)

1. Aton before the Reign of Akhenaton*)

Up till now Egyptologists have not clearly defined the period in which the word *itn* was first used in the religious sense of deity.[1]) In the Middle Kingdom, in the story of Sinuhe, the word *itn* has two closely related meanings: as the sun, the heavenly body, and as a solar god, who manifests himself in this sun.[2])

I. Aton as a deity:

Sinuhe, speaking about the death of Amenemhat I, says, "He (i. e. the king) mounted to heaven, being united with the Aton, the body of the god (i. e. the king) being merged with the one who made him".[3]) In this context *ir sw* could also be translated as "his creator, his father", referring to Aton.[4]) The quoted text makes it quite clear that Aton is understood here in the religious sense of a deity, who manifests himself in the sun and took back what he made (i. e. gave) before, and it explains how the dead pharaoh was reunited with the god who shaped him.[5])

*) My gratitude is due to DAAD (German Academic Exchange Office) for giving me the opportunity of continuing studies on some subjects in the library at Göttingen. With this article I submit the first result of these studies.

[1]) The word *itn* has various related meanings:

a) a disk, e.g. for the moon *itn n iꜥh* *Wb.* I 145 : 8 or *itn ḥdt* "the white disk (i.e. the moon)" *MDIK* V (1934), p. 34; also as a disk for a mirror, *Wb.* I 145,10.

b) the sun as a heavenly body; in this meaning it is mentioned in the list of "sky, water, earth" before sky *pt* and after moon *iꜥh* in Gardiner, *AEO* I p. 4 Nr. 2; cf. *sṯy itn* "rays of the sun", *ibid.* p. 6 Nr. 17.

c) place of residence, in which solar-gods manifest themselves; exs.: *nṯr ꜥ3 imy itn.f* "the great god who is in his disk" referring to the night shape of the sun god; Atum *m itn.f*, Horus *imy itn.f* and even Amun *imy itn.f*, s. J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, *MÄS* 19, Berlin (1969), pp. 39—2,40 note 5, 6. — In the Coffin Texts *itn* occurs as a seat *(st)* for the deceased, who says, "My seat is in the Aton, how enduring indeed *(3)* is my seat in the Aton." (*CT* VII, 207g—h, spell 993 and Assmann, *ibid.* p. 40 n. 4); for *(3)* as enclitic particle with exclamatory force s. Gardiner, *EG* 3rd. ed. (Oxford 1957) § 245.

d) as deity, see the following and G. Fecht, *Amarna-Probleme*, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 83ff.

[2]) Cf. A. Saleh, *Ancient Near East* I, Cairo (1967), p. 307 (in Arabic).

[3]) Sinuhe, R 7.

[4]) K. Sethe, *Erläuterungen zu den Ägyptischen Lesestücken*, Darmstadt 1960, p. 5; *Wb.* I, 111,1. It should also be noted that at least since the 4th Dynasty the Egyptians regarded their king as "... the son of Re, the sun god. At death he was taken back into the body of his creator and father." See J. Wilson in: J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 3rd ed. Princeton 1969, p. 18 n. 3.

[5]) Cf. the biblical expression "the Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away", Job I, 21. — I wonder why Gardiner said on this text, "It is futile to dispute whether the word *itn* refers to a deity or not." See Gardi-

The texts from the 18th Dynasty show more widespread use of the word *itn* in both meanings, as a deity or as the sun disk.[6])

On the stela of king Ahmose, it is recorded that the king is regarded

"as Re (when he) rises,
as Aton (when he) shines,
as Khopri (when he) appears in the eyes,
his rays in the faces are like Atum in the east of heaven".[7])

It is obvious that Re, Aton, Khopri and Atum all represent the sun god in one way or other. It must also be noted that the words Re, Khopri and Atum, signifing gods, have as determinative the anthropomorphic deities with or without the sun disk on their heads, with the exception of the god Aton who has the sun disk only. That seems to show that in this period the Egyptians had not yet personified the Aton among the sun gods.

In his tomb at Sheikh Abd el Gurna, "the chief of all works in Karnak" Ineni, who served in the reigns of Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II and Thutmose III together with Hatshepsut, speaks of the death of Amenhotep I. He says, "His Majesty . . . went forth to heaven, he became united with the Aton, he mingled with the one whom he had come from."[8]) Here, also, it is clear that the one whom he had come from was his father, the sun god Aton.[9])

A part of the Horus name of Thutmose I reads "who emerges from Aton."[10]) In his tomb at Sheikh Abd el Gurna, the officer Amenemheb, speaking of the death of Thutmose III and the accession of Amenhotep II says: King Thutmose III "went aloft to heaven, being united with the Aton, the limbs of the god (i. e. king) being merged with the one who made him. When the morning brightened, the sun (*itn*) came into being *(ḫpr)* and the heavens shone . . . Amenhotep II was established upon the throne of his father."[11])

The above text describes two aspects of the Aton: in the first place Aton must be understood as the god Aton, in the second place Aton signifies the sun as heavenly body, which gives light and rises every morning.

On the so-called historical scarab of Thutmose IV the word *itn* is mentioned twice. In column 5 ". . . the king fought with the Aton before him " and in the last column "to make the foreigners to be like the (Egyptian) people *(rḫyt)* in order to serve the

NER, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford 1961, p. 217. — Cf. also J. WILSON, ". . . among the various sun-gods or aspects of a sun-god, there had been no Aton before the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the word aton had meant the physical disk of the sun, a seat of a god, but not a god in itself" (*Culture of Ancient Egypt*, Chicago 1962, p. 210). — J. YOYOTTE thinks that "in about 1450 B. C. the god Aton was born and was given special honours by Amenophis III," in: G. POSENER, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilization*, London 1962, p. 25 under Aton.

[6]) *Urk.* IV 16,7; 19,7; 54,16; 82,13; 102,11; 222,4 (to be read *imy itn.f*), 253,8; 266,5; 283,16; 332,11; 341,11; 348,10; 357,7, 14; 362,15; 368,12; 370,8; 374,14; 391,3; 520,3; 575,12; 582,17; 806,13; 808,5; 813,6; 818,6; 887,16; 918,5; 938,5; 1016,8; 1183,15; 1234,4; 1239,17; 1277,8; 1286,5; 1293,5, 6; 1635,14; 1648,18; 1653,14; 1667,7; 1670,8; 1684,16; 1722,16; 1756,6; 1761,6; 1762,16; 1819,12; 1830,17; 1847,7; 1925,12; 1935,17; 1948,14.

[7]) *Urk.* IV 19,6—9, cf. J. ASSMANN, *ibid.* p. 41.

[8]) *Urk.* IV 54,15—17, cf. *BAR* II § 46.

[9]) Cf. K. SETHE, *Urk. der 18. Dynastie* I, *Übersetzung* p. 29 note 2.

[10]) *Urk.* IV 266,5.

[11]) *Urk.* IV 896,1ff.; cf. *BAR* II § 592, § 808.

Aton for ever."[12]) This text also shows that Aton was regarded as a personified deity whose image accompanied the king on the march.

King Amenhotep III describes himself as "the divine god who emerges from Aton 𓇳𓀭."[13]) The second prophet of Amon in the reign of Amenhotep III called himself "the servant of the (god) Aton 𓇋𓏏𓈖𓇳𓀭."[14]) It is noteworthy that we have here not only the sun sign as ideogram or as determinative but also the god determinative which clearly represents Aton as personified deity. This, however, is not so astonishing if we keep in mind the well known Egyptian tendency towards personification of all phenomena.

An official from the reign of Amenhotep III named Penbuy has the title "scribe of the treasury of the temple of the Aton."[15]) Ramose,[16]) the owner of tomb 46 at Thebes, which belongs to the same period, describes himself as the "steward in the mansion of the Aton."[17]). Here GARDINER comments that "it is difficult to interpret this otherwise than as implying that the Aton already received a cult at Thebes."[18]) WILSON also thinks that all these inscriptions "even make it possible that Amenhotep III built a shrine to the Aton in or near the great temple enclosure of Amon at Karnak."[19])

In all these examples Aton can only be understood as a deity.

II. Aton as the sun (disk):

Sinuhe, in another place, says to his king "thou hast subdued what the sun (*Itn*) surrounds,"[20]) in a third place he tells him "the sun (*Itn*) rises according to your wish."[21]) On his mortuary stela, the official Sehetepibre, declares that the King Amenemhat III is "the sun (*rʿ*), seeing with his rays; he illuminates the two Lands more than the sun (*Itn*)."[22])

In the 18th Dynasty there are numerous occurrences of the word *Itn* in the sense of sun (disk)[23]):

At the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, on the stela of King Ahmose, which LEGRAIN found near the 7th pylon, south of the Amon Temple in Karnak, it is recorded that Ahmose "ruled

[12]) The sign ⊙ of the sun stands in the place where ⌓ should be. See A. W. SHORTER, *JEA* XVII (1931) p. 23 fig. 1 and pl. IV Nr. 3, 5 and WILSON, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*, p. 210. H. BONNET doubts the authenticity of this scarab, see H. BONNET, *RÄRG* p. 60.

[13]) *Urk.* IV 1667,5; cf. *Urk.* IV 266,5; see also *ibid.* 222,4 where *itn* is written with the sun only.

[14]) *Urk.* IV 1935,17; cf. GARDINER, who does not mention the Aton in his list of hieroglyphic signs, representing the anthropomorphic deities. see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. Oxford (1957) p. 448f. Cf. *Urk.* IV 82,13; 1183,15, where the word Aton is also written with the god determinative.

[15]) J. WILSON, *ibid.*, p. 210.

[16]) Not the famous vizier Ramose, owner of the tomb 55 at Thebes.

[17]) GARDINER, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford (1961) p. 217.

[18]) *Ibid.*, p. 217.

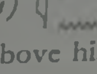
[19]) WILSON, *ibid.*, p. 210. In my research for the "Akhenaten Temple Project", however, I never found even the name of Amenhotep III mentioned on the investigated 35000 blocks of the Aton Temple at Thebes.

[20]) Sinuhe, B 213.

[21]) Sinuhe, B 233.

[22]) K. SETHE, *Ägyptische Lesestucke*, 3rd ed. (Darmstadt 1959) p. 68,15f. and *BAR* I § 747.

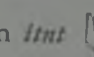
[23]) *Urk.* IV 16,7; 102,11; 253,8; 283,16; 332,11; 341,11; 348,10; 357,7, 14; 362,15; 368,12; 370,8; 374,14; 391,3; 520,3; 575,12; 582,17; 806,13; 813,6; 887,16; 918,5; 1016,8; 1183,15; 1234,4; 1239,17; 1277,8; 1286,5; 1293,5, 6; 1635,14; 1648,18; 1653,14; 1667,7; 1670,8; 1684,16; 1761,6; 1762,16; 1819,12; 1830,17; 1847,7; 1923,12; 1948,14 ...

what the sun *(Itn)* surrounds."[24]) From the second year of the reign of Thutmose I, a rock inscription on the island of Tombos near the third cataract, speaks of "his coronation as Lord of the Two Lands, to rule the circuit of the sun *(Itn)* ."[25]) It is noteworthy that, for the first time, the god determinative with the sun above his head was used with the word *Itn*, obviously indicating a further development of the Aton, using a traditional feature of Egyptian religion.

The same king says on a stela found in the Osiris Temple in Abydos: "I made the boundaries of Egypt as far as that which the sun *(Itn)* encircles."[26]) The God Amon said to Hatshepsut in her temple at Deir el Bahari: "I gave thee all the flat lands and all the hill countries and that what the sun *(Itn)* encloses, which is in the heaven, under your supervision."[27]) In another place it is stated that Amon will let Hatshepsut be the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and she will shine on her throne of eternity "as Lord (sic!) of what the sun *(Itn)* encloses."[28]) The chiefs of Punt called Hatshepsut the "*Rꜥt* (fem. of *Rꜥ*) who shines like the sun *(Itn)*,"[29]) also the God Amon "gave her what the sun *(Itn)* encompasses"[30]) and assures her "as long as heaven exists, thou wilt exist with me, thy lifetime will be like the sun *(Itn)* in it."[31]) On the Hatshepsut Obelisk at Karnak the word *Itn* appears several times. On the west side we read that she erected two obelisks for her father Amon-Re, decorated with *ḏꜥm*-gold and therefore they "illuminate the Two Lands like the sun *(Itn)*."[32]) On its south side the text runs as follows: "The great ennead of gods have brought up (Hatshepsut) to be the mistress of the circuit of the sun."[33]) On its base the text speaks of the glittering of the 'golden' obelisks so that "their rays flood the Two Lands when the sun *(Itn)* shines between them."[34]) At the end of the text Hatshepsut says, Amon "has made my boundary to the extremities of heaven and the circuit of the sun *(Itn)* has laboured for me . . ."[35]) On the fallen obelisk of Hatshepsut the inscription assures that "the circuit of the sun *(Itn)* is under her governance."[36]) On her rock temple near Beni Hasan (so-called Speos Artemidos) the text runs as follows: "the sun *(Itn)* shines, the rays of his disk *(st[wt])* are on the titulary of my Majesty (masc.)."[37]) On the sandstone statue of *Si-tp-iḥw*, the overseer of the prophets of Thinis, the text says: "thou seest Re daily, thy face sees the sun *(Itn)* when he rises."[38]) On his statue, the royal scribe Nakhtmin, wishes for himself that "he may come in and go out in his (i. e. Amon) temple to see the sun *(Itn)* of the day."[39]). On the stela of Thutmose III from Gebel Barkel, the king says: "the circuit of the sun *(Itn)*

24) *Urk.* IV 16,7.
25) *Ibid.* 82,13, *BAR* II § 70 s. also above.
26) *Urk.* IV 102,11, *BAR* II § 98.
27) *Urk.* IV 253,7f.
28) *Urk.* IV 283,16.
29) *Urk.* IV 332,11; *BAR* II § 269 note f.
30) *Urk.* IV 341,11.
31) *Urk.* IV 348,10, cf. *ibid.* 575,12; 582,16; 818,6; 1667,7.
32) *Urk.* IV 357,7, cf. *ibid.* 374,14.
33) *Urk.* IV 357,14.
34) *Urk.* IV 362,14f.
35) *Urk.* IV 368,11f. and *BAR* II § 319.
36) *Urk.* IV 370,8.
37) *Urk.* IV 391,3f.
38) *Urk.* IV 520,2f.
39) *Urk.* IV 1183,15.

is in my grasp."[40]) He is also "the ruler of the circuit of the sun *(ỉtn)*."[41]) On the big sphinx stela of Amenhotep II "[the god Amon] himself appointed him as chief of what his eye encircles and what the sun *(ỉtn)* of the day[42]) illuminates."[43])

Aton is sometimes used as an epithet: e. g. King Thutmose III is known as "the sun *(ỉtn)* of all lands,"[44]) and Amenhotep III as "the gleaming sun *(ỉtn)*."[45]) In the tomb of the scribe Amenemhat (tomb 82 at Thebes), who lived in the reign of Thutmose III, the unique occurrence of the feminine form of Aton *ỉtnt*  is encountered. In the publication of this tomb[46]) GARDINER gives the entire phrase as "an offering which the king gives to (Hathor?, lady of) Karnak, the fair-faced, the solar disk." *ỉtnt* is here used as an epithet for a goddess whose name has been obliterated.

In all these examples Aton can only be understood as the sun (disk). This means that at least since the Middle Kingdom the word *ỉtn* was used in both aspects: as the sun and as a deity as well.

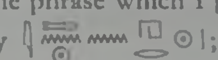
III. The radiating sun (disk):

Even the radiating sun (disk) with its outstretched arms was not the invention of Amenhotep IV. We meet it before his reign on a limestone stela, which SELIM HASSAN found near the Giza sphinx in 1936/37.[47]) The stela belongs to the reign of Amenhotep II. At the rounded top a solar disk with spreading wings and flanked by uraei is inscribed. From the sun (disk) two rays are emitted in the form of human arms terminating in hands, which embrace a king's cartouche. The name of the king has been obliterated, but we can just see the traces of the ibis sign for the god Thoth, which raises the suspicion that the name in the cartouche had probably been that of Thutmose IV, who probably erected this stela as a monument for his father Amenhotep II.

The two sun ray-arms with their human hands enclosing the name of the king in its cartouche have the function of protection.[48]) According to ancient Egyptian belief the name of a person possesses the same power or function as the person itself or its figure. The idea of protection is also expressed in Akhenaton scenes, where the king is usually represented under the radiating sun (disk), and one or more of the human hands of the sun rays are holding him around his waist.[49])

[40]) *Urk.* IV 1234,4.

[41]) *Urk.* IV 1239,17, cf. *ibid.* 1293,5f.

[42]) *ỉtn n ḫrw* not *ỉtn n Rꜥ* as W. HELCK and R. O. FAULKNER translated, cf. HELCK, *Urk. der 18. Dyn., Übersetzung zu den Heften* 17—22, Berlin 1961, p. 25 and FAULKNER, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford 1962, p. 33. See the small sphinx stela of Amenhotep II, the text of which has the same beginning as the above mentioned stela, including the phrase which I gave above. On the small stela the word *ḫrw* is not an ideogram but is inscribed phonetically ; *Urk.* IV 1286,5.

[43]) *Urk.* IV 1277,8.

[44]) *Urk.* IV 887,16.

[45]) *Urk.* IV 1923,12.

[46]) N. DE G. DAVIES and A. GARDINER, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (London 1915, in the *Theban Tombs* Series) p. 68 and pl. 30 passage north.

[47]) SELIM HASSAN, *ASAE* 38 (1939), p. 55 fig. 5.

[48]) SELIM HASSAN, *ibid.* p. 54.

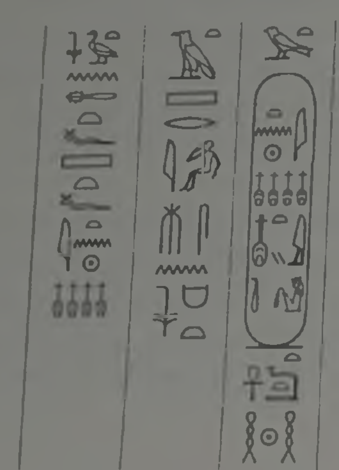
[49]) N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (6 parts, London 1903—08), part. VI pls. 16, 17, 29.

The sun (disk) with its two rays in the shape of human arms on the Amenhotep II stela might perhaps be considered as initiative for Akhenaton, who later developed this idea into the well known characteristic representation of the sun (disk) sending out numerous ray-arms terminating in human hands.

All this sums up to the conclusion that at least at the time of Amenhotep III or earlier a cult for the god Aton, propably with its own priests, had been existing in Thebes beside the cult of Amon. It can therefore be regarded as a fact that Amenhotep IV took over a preconceived idea which he crystallized into its final shape, and then devoted himself exclusively to the Aton, whom he installed as the sole god not only in his own realm but all over the ancient world at his time.[50])

2. The Reversed Aton in the Long Name of Nefertiti[51])

On the Aton temple *talatat*[52]) at Karnak, the Hermopolis blocks from Akhenaton's reign, and on the rock tombs at Amarna, the names of the daughters of Queen Nefertiti are usually inscribed beside the name of their mother in consecutive columns expressing their genealogical relationship to the Queen. It is interesting to notice the name of her fourth daughter, Nefer-nefru-Aton ta-sherit beside the long name of her mother, Nefer-nefru-Aton Nefertiti which appears in cartouche.[53])



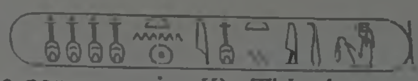
The text shows that the word Aton occurs reversed only in the long cartouche of Nefertiti, not however, in her daughter's name. There must be a strong reason for writing the word Aton in this exceptional way which makes the Aton face the queen's determinative at the end of the cartouche. Davies thinks that this habit of writing the name Aton backwards "is derived

[50]) For Aton in the reign of Amenhotep IV see the author's article "*Aton and his temple names at Thebes*" in the publication of the 'Akhenaten Temple Project'.

[51]) My gratitude is due to Dr. D. B. Redford, Director of the Akhenaten Temple Project, who kindly put the films of the Project at my disposal.

[52]) See Ramadan M. Saad, *MDIK* 22 (1967), p. 64 note 1.

[53]) N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (6 parts, London 1903—08), II pl. 10, cf. *ibid.* I pls. 10, 19, 25, 26; II pls. 12, 54.

from the horizontal cartouche which is written [54]), no doubt in order to mark off the two parts of which the name consists[55]). This theory that Aton was reversed only to divide her new adopted name *nfr nfrw Itn* from the old one *nfrt ii.ti* is not very satisfactory, for the horizontal cartouche of the long name of Nefertiti occurs only very few times. On Karnak *talatat* of the Aton temple the long name or part of it is found 143 times vertically and only once in very small scale horizontally[56]) (pl. XXVIII a). At Amarna, on the rock tombs, this name appears over 130 times vertically and only five times horizontally for technical reasons as on architraves or within horizontal texts[57]). On Hermopolis blocks it was inscribed 23 times vertically and only three times horizontally within a horizontal text on the base of a statue.[58])

Apparently it was not by chance that the long name of Nefertiti usually occurs vertically and only in very few cases horizontally. There must be a reason why Nefertiti preferred that her long name should always be inscribed vertically and not horizontally.

In all religious scenes on Karnak *talatat*, Hermopolis blocks or on the rock tombs at Amarna, Nefertiti is represented facing the Aton disk, which is always above her. These scenes either show Nefertiti alone or in the company of her husband, Amenhotep IV, under the rayed sun-disk, which sends down ☥ *ꜥnḫ* and *wꜣs* signs, the symbols of life and dominion, only to the nostrils of Amenhotep IV and Nefertiti not, however, to their daughters. The artist, — according to the wish of the royal pair —, expressed this close relationship between the King, the Queen and their god Aton, who is always above them, by means of the face to face representation between them.

The Karnak *talatat* prove that Amenhotep IV from the beginning regarded himself as a god and was treated accordingly, having his own priests like other Egyptian Gods. Some of these *talatat* show the title "*imy-ḫnt ḥm-nṯr tpy n* (*Nfr-ḫprw-Rꜥ wꜥ-n-Rꜥ*) 'which means' chamberlain and first prophet of Nefer-khepru-Re waꜥ-en-Re."[59]) But what about Nefertiti and her position to Aton? While doing research for the Akhenaten Temple Project, sponsored by the University Museum, Pennsylvania, and the American Research Center in Egypt, my attention was drawn to the following interesting points.

1. On one of the Aton temple blocks at Karnak occurs the following text: [*Itn ꜥn*]*ḫ wr imy-ḥbw-sd nb pt nb tꜣ ḥry-ib ḥwt bnbn m gm pꜣ Itn ḥmt-nsw nfrt-ii.*[*ti*]"[60]) (pl. XXVIII b), which means "the great living Aton, who is in jubilees, Lord of Heaven, Lord of Earth, risiding in the mansion of Benben in Gem-pa-Aton of the Queen Nefertiti."[61])

[54]) The sign in the word *Itn* is usually inscribed facing the queen determinative and not — as Davies wrote it (*Amarna* I p. 9 note 4) — facing the same direction as the rest of the name. See, Davies, *Amarna*, II pls. 5, 31; V pls. 25, 26 and VI pl. 14.

[55]) Davies, *ibid.* I p. 9 note 4.

[56]) Film nr. 690—11, block nr. 0119 05004 (XXVIII a), re-used block.

[57]) Davies, *ibid.* II pls. 5, 31; V pls. 25, 26; VI pl. 14.

[58]) G. Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, Hildesheim (1969) pl. 162.

[59]) Film nr. 178—1, block nr. 0108 09312; film nr. 273—11 block nr. 0105 11510; film nr. 496—12, block nr. 0114 02011; film nr. 2025—6, block nr. 0601 05301; cf. J. Clere, *RdE* 20 (1968) p. 51 ff. and p. 52 note 3 for *imy-ḫnt*, see D. B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dyn. of Egypt*, Toronto (1967) p. 22 and note 64.

[60]) Film nr. 1095—7, block nr. 0126 07218 (XXVIII b).

[61]) This chapel name is discussed in detail in the author's article: "*Aton and his temple names at Thebes*", which will be published in the "Akhenaton Temple Project" publication.

This text refers to a *ḥwt bnbn* sanctuary belonging to Nefertiti, either as a divine person praying to Aton or being worshipped herself. From the syntactic point of view it is difficult to understand the long phrase *ḥwt bnbn m gm pꜣ ỉtn* as direct genitive to *ḥmt-nsw*, we can, however, easily accept it, if we take into consideration that in this period the writers sometimes omit the genitive particle *n*.[62])

It is noteworthy that on the 35000 blocks we have studied, the phrase *ḥwt bnbn* or part of it occurs 48 times, 11 of these blocks show relatively complete inscriptions in which either the name Nefertiti or her figure is depicted, whereas Amenhotep IV is not even mentioned once on the *ḥwt bnbn* blocks. That proves on the one hand that Nefertiti had a Benben sanctuary, and on the other hand it reveals her direct relationship to Aton as a divine person.

2. A corner of a fragmentary granite sarcophagus, belonging to one of the daughters of Nefertiti, found at Amarna, shows the Queen, wearing the crown, composed of the sun disk with the two uraei and the two feathers, under the rays of the sun, which terminate in human hands.[63]) Nefertiti appears on this corner in the place of one of the four guardian goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Neith and Selket,[64]) who usually protected the royal sarcophagus during the New Kingdom. If the Queen was represented on all four corners of this sarcophagus, which is very likely, it means that Nefertiti was replacing those four goddesses in protecting her dead daughter. It is clear that Nefertiti is here considered as a goddes, not only as a mother.

3. The *talatat* of the Aton temple at Karnak brought evidence of an unparalleled structure. We have reconstructed a part of it on paper.[65]) This pillared courtyard of Nefertiti only represents the Queen — not Amenhotep IV — and her first two daughters, Meritaton and Meketaton, under the rays of the sun-disk, which terminate in human hands. On three sides of each pillar occurs only the long name of the Queen, Nefer-nefru-Aton Nefertiti, in large scale covering three courses[66]). That leads me to the assumption that this pillared courtyard of Nefertiti was erected later than the main temple of Aton, which probably means in the fifth or at the beginning of the sixth year of Amenhotep IV's reign, since Nefertiti adopted her long name in the fifth year or shortly before.[67]) This is also supported by the existence of five blocks[68]) on which the short name is deeply inscribed in large scale, while the long one has obviously been lightly added afterwards in very small scale (pl. XXVIII c, d). The fourth side of the pillars shows Nefertiti

[62]) A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, Leipzig (1933) § 206, cf. Fairman, in: Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, part III, vol. I text p. 201 where the phrase *tꜣ šwt rʿ ḥmt-nsw* appears with and without the genitival adj. *n*.

[63]) K. Lange, *König Echnaton und die Amarna-Zeit*, München (1951) pl. 52 and p. 141 Nr. 52. This reference I owe to Prof. J. Wilson.

[64]) It is not true that Amenhotep IV rejected from the beginning all other gods except his Aton. On the *talatat* of the Aton temple in Karnak the title *ḥm-nṯr srḳt* occurs twice (film nr. 803—1, block nr. 0127 08908; film nr. 2100—10, block nr. 0902 04001), also the name of the goddess Hathor is inscribed on one block (F. 301—12, B. 0113 14308). The word *nṯrw* and the sign *mwt* were not yet regarded as taboo, we meet *nṯrw* once (F. 1952—2, B. 0516 01814) and the sign *mwt* three times (F. 585—6, B. 0119 07318; F. 686—4, B. 0118 05319; F. 2432—10, B. 0452 04814) without any traces of defacement.

[65]) See the painting of L. Greener in the *National Geographic Magazine* Nov. 1970 p. 647 and in *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* May, 1971, p. 27.

[66]) I.e. three rows of blocks. Ex. see F. 2402—7, B. 0124 18701; F. 1994—3, B. 0524 00204; F. 1994—11, B. 0524 01401 where the long name of Nefertiti is matched together.

[67]) N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, London (1941) p. 32 note 7.

[68]) F. 145—11, B. 0106 14806; F. 153—4, B. 0109 16001 (XXVIIIc); F. 396—9, B. 0114 15501; F. 416—12, B. 0113 06704 (XXVIIId), F. 1092—1, B. 0128 15519.

facing herself across an offering table in four ritual scenes under the rays of the sun disk. Both names of Nerfertiti appear on the fourth side in very small scale. The only temple name which flanks the sun-disk is the known one *Gm p3 Itn m pr Itn*.[69]) As far as I know there is no parallel for this building in Egyptian history, and it is an open question, whether it was a chapel for Nefertiti alone to pray to Aton or to be prayed to herself as a divine personality.

4. From the 35 000 studied blocks of the Aton temple at Karnak only five have the unusual building name *sḥ n Itn*.[70]) On one of these five blocks (pl. XXVIII e) we see, on the left, the bottom of the rayed sun-disk and on the right the last part of the inscription which flanks the sun-disk. It reads *ḥry-ib sḥ n Itn* "residing in the booth of Aton." A royal figure, very likely Queen Nefertiti, whose name and the rest of her cartouche was inscribed above her, offers both cartouches of the Aton in its earlier form to the sun-disk.[71]) Her title reads "the *rpꜥt*, great of favour, Mistress of South and North, Nefertiti".[72]) Another of these five blocks shows two symmetrical scenes completing each other (pl. XXVIII f). We see the head of the Queen under the rays of the sun-disk. Her title is inscribed before her. She is wearing her crown with the sun-disk between the two horns backed by the two feathers. The text runs as follows:

"*Itn ꜥnḫ wr imy ḥb(w)-sd nb pt nb t3 ḥry-ib sḥ n Itn m Gm p3 Itn m pr Itn*"

"great living Aton who is in jubilee(s), Lord of Heaven, Lord of Earth residing in the booth of Aton in Gem-pa-Aton in the House of Aton."

These two blocks show only Nefertiti—not Amenhotep IV—depicted or her name inscribed. Apparently it is a third structure in the Aton temple Gem-pa-Aton in Thebes, belonging to Nefertiti.

5. On a single block of the Aton temple at Karnak occurs a remarkable frieze, consisting of the double cartouche of the Aton and the long name of Nefertiti. The names are inscribed above a series of *rḫyt*-birds, each provided with human arms, raised in adoration position, and sitting on a 𓎟 sign, the star 𓇼 appearing in front of each bird[73] (pl. XXIX a). This can be understood not only as mere architectural decoration but also as "adoration by all the subjects *(dw3 rḫyt nbt)*[74]) (to) Re-Horakhti, who rejoices in the Horizon in his name the sun light which is Aton (and to) Nefer-nefru-Aton Nefertiti." This remarkable frieze with the name of Nefertiti and not with the name of Amenhotep IV occurs only once on the 35 000 studied blocks.

All this evidence shows that Nefertiti had a very high position close to divinity.

In some offering scenes on the blocks of the Aton temple at Karnak, Nefertiti is represented facing the Aton, worshipping and offering the *m3ꜥt* figurine (pl. XXIX b, c) to him[75]) exactly like Amenhotep IV[76]) (pl. XXIX d). Moreover, in all religious scenes, whether on Karnak *talatat*, Her-

[69]) See above note 61.

[70]) F. 180—2, B. 0106 07406; F. 303—2, B. 0113 07519; F. 670—1, B. 0114 11103; F. 931—5, B. 0167 18610 (XXVIII e); F. 1887—2, B. 0439 08314 (XXVIII f.); see above note 61.

[71]) Cf. Davies, *Amarna* IV pls. 31,44 and B. Gunn, *JEA* IX (1923) p. 172.

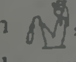
[72]) Cf. Davies, *ibid.* II pls. 6, 8; IV pl. 31.

[73]) F. 1697—3, B. 0449 06406 (XXIX a) shown to me kindly by Mrs. Shoukri.

[74]) Cf. *AEO* I p. 102, Idem, *Egyptian Grammar* 3rd ed. London (1957) p. 113, also M. Calverly, *The Temple of King Setbos I at Abydos*, London-Chicago (1938), Vol. III, pl. 58 where this group sign *dw3 rḫyt nbt* appears above both the papyrus blossom of Lower Egypt and the 'lily' of Upper Egypt.

[75]) Nefertiti offers the *m3ꜥt* figurine to the sun-disk. Exs. F. 1040—7, B. 0126 02404 (XXIX b); F. 1717—3. B. 0451 03808 (XXIX c); F. 1718—9, B. 0445 02304.

[76]) Amenhotep IV performs the same ritual. Exs. F. 1377—12, B. 0283 17706 (XXIX d); F. 1951—7, B. 0314 02114.

mopolis blocks or Amarna rock tombs, Nefertiti is always represented facing the Aton who is above her. This face to face representation between Nefertiti and the Aton disk makes me believe that the same principle was applied in inscribing Nefertiti's long name Nefer-nefru-Aton Nefertiti; because at the end of her long cartouche Nefertiti appears in the form of a queen determinative instead of herself in this form , which is the hieroglyphic depiction of a sitting female figure wearing the diadem and carrying a flower.

Obviously it was Nefertiti's wish that even in her Aton name she had to face the Aton, who is always above her, in the same way as she usually does in her ritual scenes; and for that reason the word Aton, which stands in honorific transposition at the top of the long name, was reversed to face the Queen[77]) at the end of her name.

The originally scenic conception underlying the hieroglyphic inscriptions also becomes evident in the fact that almost all examples of her long name are inscribed vertically. This vertical cartouche of the long name of Nefertiti makes the Aton appear above her. She is facing and worshipping him, thus evoking the actual scenic representation of the Queen worshipping the god Aton.

In the case of the King's name, Akhenaton, and the Nefer-nefru-Aton name of Semenkhkare it is not necessary to reverse the Aton because there is no king determinative within the cartouche that the god Aton should face. Neither does the reversal of Aton appear in the names of the daughters of Nefertiti, whether in honorific transposition or in normal writing, although they have the Aton as a part of their names as Meritaton, Meketaton, Ankhesenpaaton and Nefernefruaton ta-sherit. The reason for this could be that the daughters did not have the divine position of their mother.

[77]) Cf. SETHE, *Urk.* IV p. 360—16; E. NAVILLE, *Deir el Bahari*, vol. V pl. 137; M. CALVERLEY, *op. cit.* III pls. 5, 8, 10, 22, 34, 43, 44, 46; *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 174, 175, 178; M. HAMMAD, *Bericht über die Restaurierung des Barkensockels Ramses' III. im Chonstempel in Karnak*, *ASAE* LIV 1er Fasc. (1956) pls. IV, VIII, where the name of the god or the goddess is reversed to face the King or the Queen.

An Early Ptolemaic Temple in the Cyrenaica

(Some Literary and Religious Evidence)

By G. R. H. WRIGHT

(Taf. XXX)

Hard by the sea shore about a kilometre or so to the west of Apollonia, ancient port of Cyrene, the emplacement of a temple could be recognised.[1]) Latterly this site has been cleared and examined by the University of Michigan Expediation to Apollonia.[2]) A preliminary report of the findings has appeared in the American Journal of Archaeology from which it is obvious that the direct archaeological evidence surviving is very slight.[3])

The fabric of the Temple was almost totally destroyed in antiquity (presumably to feed the lime kiln) so that in effect only the cuttings in the bedrock to seat the Temple foundation remain together with (by great good chance) one capital. That is a fairly reasonable idea is afforded of the general design of the Temple supplemented by exact knowledge of the peristylar capitals. The Temple was Doric with a peristyle of 6 × 11 columns, the capitals of which were markedly individual—the echinus absolutely without curvature but very spreading. This is manifestly slender evidence indeed for the identification and date of the Temple. In the present context all that need be resumed is that the suggestion of a focal date of 300 B. C. is not unreasonable.

Since epigraphical evidence fails entirely with respect to this interesting feature, all the more is attention directed towards literary reference. And here indeed something positive can be adduced. The action of the Rudens, a comedy by Plautus, takes place before a temple of Venus built close to the shore not far away from the city of Cyrene. Manifestly this evidence can be brought into relation with the Apollonia Temple site, but it is not perhaps manifest at how many points it touches the issue of the Temple and its date. The following remarks give some consideration to these possible points of contact.

The first question to be discussed, indeed the introductory question, is the basic topographical one. How specifically do the circumstances of the play relate its setting to the site investigated by the Michigan Expedition? And here, to avoid possible double argumentation the matter is discussed solely on its topographic merits—i. e. avoiding all suggestion of historic probability.

The present topography of the site may be indicated by an abstract from the Architectural Report of the Michigan work[4]) "The Temple was built on the summit of one of a series of

[1]) cf. R. G. GOODCHILD, *Cyrene and Apollonia*, Libya 1963, p. 88.

[2]) Directors, Profs. D. WHITE and J. G. PEDLEY; Supervisor of Temple Excavations, Prof. P. MCALEER.

[3]) v. J. G. PEDLEY, *Excavations at Apollonia, Cyrenaica Second Preliminary Report*, in: *AJA* 71, 1967, pp. 141—147 at p. 142.

[4]) v. G. R. H. WRIGHT, *The Extra-mural Doric Temple at Apollonia*, 1966.

limestone hillocks which outcrop parallel to, and about 200 m back from the sea coast. The Temple platform was levelled at about 16.50 m above the sea; towards the beach the rock declines evenly and there is a slight fall off Southward to the general level of the plain where some 150 m away, the ancient road from Cyrene must have run more or less on the line of the modern road . . . Care was taken to orient the Temple on as exact an East-West axis as possible . . . the approach from the road being diagonal to the East Front and probably little other than a natural winding path in the hillside." It remains to be noted that the modern village having developed in this direction, the immediate vicinity is now barren down to the rocky shore, but further to the west similar terrain is covered with thickets of brushwood and thorn etc. And so doubtless was the locality of the Temple before it became a home pasture for goats.

With this picture well in mind the stage setting of the play may now be considered (the LOEB editor's reconstruction is quoted *verbatim*.[5]) "Scene: A wild rough part of the African coast not very far from Cyrene. In the background obscured by a tangle of vegetation, stands a temple, an altar in front of it and the cottage of Daemones. On the right is the rocky shoreline. Offstage towards the left lie the harbour and city of Cyrene."

The essential congruence between these two pictures is such that in the first instance comment is almost superfluous. Making allowance for the denuded vegetation, the LOEB editor has unconsciously[6]) described the actual Temple site and its environs from an Eastern viewpoint looking (naturally enough) Westward more or less directly at the Temple front. In this fashion the ground slopes down 'on the right' to the 'rocky shoreline' (perhaps now slightly nearer than in antiquity) while to the left the approach pathway leads off to the Cyrene-Apollonia road, thus providing exactly for the required entrances and exits of the play — on the one hand to the city and on the other to the sea.

However, although further comment is by no means essential to the argument, it is interesting in itself and indeed may suggest another consideration which is not without cogency for the following discussion.

Initially it must be mentioned that the stage setting of Rudens, however accurately it may or may not reflect the siting of the Apollonia Temple, conforms to the conventional norms of its genre. "According to the ordinary usage of the Roman stage, the door to the left of the spectators served for the entrance of persons from foreign parts *(perergre)*, that to the right of the spectators for the entrance of inhabitants of the place."[7]) In general the scene being *intra mural* this convention involves imagining the left wing as giving into the harbour or city gate and the right as giving on to the Forum. However the scene of the Rudens being set extra-murally, the left wing communicates with the *urbs* and the right wing with the *rus* as typified in the sea shore, since the 'locals' are not city folks but rustics (or rusticated) and have their living from the sea. This conformity to convention, rather this special adaption to convention,[8]) is, of course not migatory to argument directed towards the verisimilitude of the

[5]) v. LOEB, *Plautus IV* ed. P. *Nixon*, p. 289.

[6]) v. The existence of the archaeological remains under discussion was unknown to the LOEB editor and to all other editors of Plautus. The most detailed commentary to the play is said to be that supplied by F. MARX, *Plautus Rudens Text und Commentar*, Leipzig 1928.

[7]) v. Rudens E. A. SONNENSCHEIN, *Editio Minor*, Oxford 1901, p. vii.

[8]) Some such convention was more or less necessary for the intelligibility of the play. It provided that auxilliary explanation of the action which a modern theatre goer automatically expects to be furnished in his programme.

setting. Indeed the adaption of local circumstance to a dramatic convention is a positive idea which can be supported by further instance.

It has been noted that "The Temple was built on the summit of one of a series of limestone hillocks which outcrop parallel to and about 200 m back from the sea coast."[9]) This chain of uneven ground (further broken up by inevitable quarrying) extends back towards the walls of the city where the main (Western) Gate is down by the sea. That is if one wishes to get back from the Temple to the town one does not set off directly across hill and dale along the ridge but walks down the southern shoulder of the ridge to take the level road way. Or if one has gone down on the other side of the ridge, one automatically walks back along the shore to the 'Sea Gate'.

Compare the action of Act III Scene 6. "When Plesidippus left the stage with his three companions he went to the sea shore to see whether Labrax was among the shipwrecked persons who Daemones had caught sight of. He missed them however and Tracholio was sent to fetch him. They now return together having left the three companions on the shore. Plesidippus at once resolves to drag Labrax off to trial and sends Tacholio back to the shore to tell the companions to proceed by another route to the harbour . . ."[10]) This they do—to dramatic advantage, since they are thus not required to make a superfluous entry, However (to anyone familiar with local topography) it is not abstract convention alone which is in point here—since Plesidippus' supporters are simply being directed to get back to the town in a hurry by the most direct route to arrange for the trial.

A detailed analysis of the play is no concern of this enquiry, and so much has been mentioned only because it cannot but raise the suggestion that the plot and setting of the play were originally based on personal experience of the scene. This suggestion leads to the question of the original authorship of the play and this in turn introduces the historical instance which is the concern of the present enquiry.

The Rudens, a classic of the Roman theatre, was written by Plautus about 200 B. C. but, as is well known, it is modelled on or from an earlier Greek play by Diphilus of Sinope, one of the most famous and prolific authors of the 'New Comedy'.[11]) This fact and the question of the degree to which the Rudens is dependent on its model are discussed in every edition of Plautus. Here the specific question which arises is simply "Does the setting of the Rudens adhere to that originally devised by Diphilus"? Happily the answer to the question is a simple "Yes", since Plautus obligingly testifies to the fact in the prologue—"primum hiuc esse nomen urbi Diphilus Cyrenas voluit."

The precise wording of this identification serves in turn to raise and reduce an apparent difficulty. In the face of it, it might be argued that the setting of the Rudens betrays a complete lack of knowledge of the locality since the temple by the sea is placed in the immediate neighbourhood of Cyrene not Apollonia, and Cyrene is about 20 km away out of sight involving a stiff climb up a broken scarp to some 600 m above sea level. However it will be noticed immediately that the name Cyrene is given by Plautus in the plural form. This was a common method of designating 'city and district of', and would very probably include the harbour area. And it is precisely this harbour area of Cyrene where the 'urban' off-stage action of the comedy is supposed to take place, with its consequent exits and entrances *left*. This fact is commented

[9]) v. *supra* p. 87–88, as indeed is the city itself.

[10]) v. SONNENSCHEIN, p. 119.

[11]) For Diphilus v. *Paully Wissova* V Cols 1153—5. It has been conjectured that the title of Diphilus' play was πήρα—The Wallet.

on by one editor, who referring to Plesidippus' instruction to his friend in Scene 6 *ire ad portum*, says "His choice of the harbour as a rendezvous is apparently determined by his wish to find witnesses there . . ."[12]) Although this proposition is true in the literal sense, it demonstrates the editor's lack of local knowledge. Plesidippus instructs his friends to go to the harbour area of Cyrene because this is the township in the vicinity of the Temple from which the plot depends.

Why then, it will be asked, if the playwright means Apollonia, the port of Cyrene, as the town in question, does he not say so instead of speaking of Cyrene and its district. An obvious answer would be the desire to characterise the locality by a famous name rather than using a relatively unknown example of an ubiquitous city-name. In truth the answer is more straight forward. At the date of composition of the play the name Apollonia for the harbour of Cyrene was not yet in existence; since, although a town of some importance, it was still politically a part of Cyrene. Its constitution and baptism has been ingeniously conjectured to go back to the political experiments of 250 B. C.,[13]) but, in fact, the first literary attestation of the name is in Strabo who is also the first to characterise it as a separate city.[14]) Diphilus who certainly wrote before 250 B. C. was then perfectly straight forward in designating the scene of his play as a harbour in the district of Cyrene.

When was this play written? Here again there is no mystery. Diphilus of Sinope was a contemporary of Alexander the Great and flourished until 290 B. C. Sixty titles of his plays remain and it is conjectured on internal evidence that the model of the Rudens must have been a late play and first produced between 303 B. C. and 290 B. C.[15]) Certainly the play gives the impression of belonging to the days of the epigoni. This is not the occasion to recapitulate detailed analysis—but some matters are obvious. When the slave Gripus gives utterance to the dreams of delight occasioned by his 'treasure-trove', he begins by proposing to emulate the activities of Stratonicus and thus achieve fame.[16]) This Stratonicus was a celebrated musician of the time of Alexander the Great and Diphilus here is indulging in a little banter at the expense of the virtuoso performer, his contemporary. Next Gripus speaks of founding a city to immortalise his name and establishing a great big empire there[17])—the originals of this phantasy were not far to seek.

Allied to such general allusions is internal evidence of some familiarity with local Cyrenaican affairs. Among the *dramatis* personae is an old scoundrel from Sicily 'one of the sort that would sell a city.'[18]) He is in some ways the catalyst of the entire action through his enticement of the pimp to embark for Sicily; and he puts on a characteristic, bold front after the disaster. The understanding of wealth and high living current in Sicily[19]) obviously relates to the time of Agathocles, and the presence and propositions of the old adventurer in Cyrenaica bespeaks a knowledge of the close connections between the two countries. These connections

[12]) v. SONNENSCHEIN, p. 119.

[13]) v. A. H. M. JONES, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Province*, Oxford 1937, pp. 359ff. Cf. C. KRAELING, *Ptolemais City of the Libyan Pentapolis*, Chicago 1962, p. 5. But *contra* cf. F. CHAMOUX in B, C, H. LXXXII, 1958, p. 571.

[14]) v. Strabo XVII, 837.

[15]) Cf. LOEB ed. introduction, p. vi.

[16]) Post animi cause mihi navem facias atque imitabor Stratonicum Oppida circumuectabor ubi nobilitas mea erit clara (l. 932, 3).

[17]) Oppidum magnum communibo, et ego urbi gripo indam nomen, monumentum meae formae et factis, ibi qui regnum magnum instituam (l. 934, 5).

[18]) Urbis proditur (l. 50).

[19]) Ibi esse quaestum maximum meretricibus (l. 96).

had but latterly (in the days from Thibron to Ophellas, c. 320—308 B. C.) extended to politics: politics marked by an 'adventurism' which brought little good to Cyrenaica and disaster to Ophellas.[20]) Indeed those familiar with current affairs might easily take the Sicilian intriguer as a symbol.

Briefly then to have done with the comedy of Plautus, we may say that its study reveals a Greek original into which can be projected (on internal evidence) familiarity with the Hellenistic world of Alexander's successors together with some cognisance of Cyrenaican affairs. The action of the play centres about a Temple of Aphrodite on the sea-coast near the harbour of Cyrene. That is to say at about 300 B. C. or a little later a temple of Aphrodite was in existence near Apollonia, and since the playwright appears to evidence knowledge of the local scene and since the topographical circumstances he imagines are not inconsistent with the location of a Doric temple of which traces survive, then this period 300—290 B. C. provides a reasonable lower terminus for the date of the said Doric Temple.

To arrive at an upper limit for the construction of the Temple is a more inferential process which must go beyond reference to the Rudens since its author, unfortunately, found therein no dramatic occasion to announce when his Temple of Aphrodite was built. However 'the play is the thing' to give a start to the enquiry. An enquiry which soon abuts on the nature of the dedication.

Initially a rather obvious argument is, perhaps, just worth mentioning. If Diphilus set his play before the Temple of Aphrodite on the coast near Apollonia, the reason most certainly was not that this shrine was a famous one in antiquity. Neither from beforehand nor afterwards has any record of it been preserved. What then should have made the Temple at the time of writing the play, a place of sufficient public interest so that it became a meaningful setting for a play. Perhaps nothing at all; or its remoteness giving colour to the fairy tale quality of the play—an ancient 'Ruritania', 'The Sea-coast of Bohemia.' Perhaps on the other hand because the Temple had recently been built and dedicated in rather notable circumstances.

Fortunately the play does not leave us to such uncircumstantial reflections. Although Diphilus has no direct concern for his temple *per se*, he not only reveals it as dedicated to Aphrodite and prepared to succour sea waifs. He does much more. The Temple is in the care of a priestess. She plays a quite stereotyped part and could perfectly well be indicated simply by title—Priestess, but Diphilus identifies her by name, a strange idio-syncratic name, Ptolemocratia.[21])

A temple existing in Cyrenaica at the beginning of the Ptolemaic regime ministered to by a priestess named Ptolemocratia is hardly to be taken as an accidental concatenation of circumstances. Rather it bespeaks a cult which is in some way a new dynastic establishment, and thus as likely as not established in a newly built temple. It remains now to investigate the historical background to this reasonable proposition.

The Doric colony of Cyrene was founded as a monarchy and this anachronistic political institution maintained itself (in accordance with the oracle) for eight generations. However when as an aftermath of Alexander's conquests kings became a commonplace for Greeks, Cyrene and its neighbour cities for over a hundred years had governed themselves in the normal fashion of the day, with the attendent strife between oligarchic and democratic interests. Alexander in

[20]) These events are resumed in every general account of Cyrenaican history (cf., for convenience, R. G. GOODCHILD, *Cyrene and Apollonia*, Libya 1963, pp. 14—15). The most compendius source still remains J. P. THRIGE, *Res Cyrenensium* 1828 (Rome edition 1940).

[21]) v. PAULY-WISSOWA XXIII$_2$ Col. 1887.

person came to the borders of the country on his pilgrimage to the oracle of Zeus Ammon, but it was the establishment of the Ptolemaic regime in Egypt which brought it home to Cyrene that its world had changed. Cyrene had its Western front towards the Punic emporia (and Sicily) as well as its Eastern (Egyptian) front. It was from the former direction that disturbance came in the wake of Alexander. Since Alexander did not live to deal with these Western parts as he intended, it was the new world-power at Alexandria from which the settlement was sought. This settlement proved so effective that Cyrene became in turn almost a shadow world power. The responsible individual was Magas, son, by a former husband, of Ptolemy Soter's second queen, Berenice, and he guided Cyrene's destinies for fifty years. He it is who should be concerned with the Temple near Apollonia.[22])

The historical factors which support this probability fall into two divisions: the personal circumstances accounting for Magas' rule and the politico-religious customs of the times. So far as the latter is concerned the general circumstances are fairly well known. The evidence available is copious and there is no occasion for detailed re-examination. Indeed only a very brief account of the circumstance need and can be given. As an aid to systemising the varied factors the following preliminary synopsis is adduced.

(1) Magas' position in Cyrenaica obtained through his mother Berenice and maintained with loyalty to the Ptolemaic regime during the lifetime of his father-in-law Soter.

(2) Incidence of hellenistic 'Sovereign-cults'

(a) Under the Ptolemaic regime

(b) As applied to women

(c) Specifically to Berenice I

(d) Identification with Aphrodite

(e) In the aspect of patroness of sea-faring.

Magas was appointed military commander and Viceroy of Cyrenaica at some period 308—300 B. C.[23]) Evidently at this time he was but a youth (among the followers of Alexander youth could not be regarded as a bar to responsible command!) His subsequent career showed him to be a man of great merit, but it was not to merit that he owed his appointment. He was appointed because he was the son of his mother, on the instance of his mother.[24]) This notwithstanding, Ptolemy Soter, his step-father, seems to have been given no cause for complaint neither on the grounds of Magas' ability nor his loyalty. During the remaining 20 years of Ptolemy's rule Magas honoured his step-father equally with his mother and never asserted his power against the regime in Alexandria[25]) (in spite of the fact that history, and Magas' own subsequent

[22]) For an outline history of Cyrenaica v. R. Goodchild and J. Thrige as in n. 20 *supra*. Magas himself has recently been made the subject of an interesting monograph. v. F. Chamoux, *Le Roi Magas*, in: *Revue Historique* 1956, CCXVI, pp. 17—34.

[23]) Cf. Chamoux, *Roi Magas* p. 24 where he discusses the previously accepted date of 308 B.C. and adduces evidence in favour of 300 B.C.; also cf. A. H. M. Jones, *op. cit.* p. 358.

[24]) v. Pausanius I. 7.

[25]) In some older accounts a Cyrenaican rebellion against Ptolemy I under Magas was suggested—this suggestion devolved from installing Magas in Cyrenaica as early as 308 B.C. With a later date for his arrival there now seems little to support his recalcitrance. (v. note 23 *supra*.)
The evidence for Magas' loyalty and devotion to his mother and step-father is numismatic. In these years Magas never issued coins with his own image but impressed his monogram on coins bearing the image and

actions, show that a strong ruler could always hold Cyrenaica against the Nile valley). What historical circumstances then could be imagined as more fitting for the establishment of a cult wherein the dynastic power of the Ptolemies was commemorated in the name, or rather title, of the priestess?

Such is one division of the argument, the other is of wider comprehension but equally direct in its application. From the Rudens we learn that the temple served by Ptolemocratia is dedicated to Aphrodite. Pindar (Pyth v. 23) provides an early literary association of the goddess with Cyrenaica and there one notices (mainly late) of place names, Aphrodisias,[26] but Aphrodite is hardly by nature destined to be a tutelary diety in Cyrenaican tradition. Fact and legend centre on Apollo and his connections provide a patroness-goddess. For a famous corn-land, the corn goddess is also appropriate and naturally as ever the high god. And this is the picture demonstrated by the remains. The old established temples at Cyrene are to Apollo, Artemis, Zeus, Demeter, with, of course, shrines to the eponymous nymph-diety.[27] However it is a well known fact that Magas' mother, Berenice I, came to be deified and was worshipped in the guise of Aphrodite.[28] This fact is so clearly relevent to a temple served by a priestess called Ptolemocratia that some account of the circumstances must be given.

The emergence of a religious usage whereby men of destiny were acknowledged and after some manner worshipped as Gods, even during their lifetime, is one of the characteristic developments of the Hellenistic Age. It dawned like thunder with Alexander of the Two Horns,[29] but its antecedents, both Greek and barbarian, were manifold.[30] The practice was maintained by Alexander's successors and it survived into Imperial Rome.[31] Nowhere was it received more whole-heartedly than among the Ptolemies. One by one these rulers became part of the pantheon

superscription either of King Ptolemy or Queen Berenice. The precise dating and arrangement of these issues is disputed by numismatic authorities, but whatever the chronological details may be, Queen Berenice types occupy a salient (and unexpected) place in the coinage of Magas. For details v. E. ROBINSON, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica*, London (British Museum) 1927; SVORONOS, *Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων* IV Athens 1906 (Cols 72 ff.); B. V. HEAD, *Historia Numorum*, Oxford 1911 (pp. 870—871). CHAMOUX refers to a recent work. L. NAVILLE, *Les Monnaies d'or de la Cyrenaique*, Geneva 1957.

26) An Aphrodisias island not far from Cyrene (*apud* Stephen of Byzantium) probably (*apud* Skylax) somewhere off Naustathmos (Ras-el-Hilal) is mentioned by Herodotus and noticed continually by Roman and Byzantine geographers who, however make no reference to any temple. Further to the east an Aphrodisias harbour (somewhere in the vicinity of Aziris) is noted in Byzantine times to contain a temple of the Goddess (Stadiusmus Maris Magni § 49).

At the western outpost of Cyrenaica Strabo (XVII. 3.20) mentions a Temple of Aphrodite on an island in Lake Tritonas at Euhesperides, but nothing is heard of Aphrodite in the earlier accounts of the region by Pindar (Pyth. IV) and Apollonius Rhodius (Argonautica). Cf. L. VITALI, *Fonti per la Storia della Religione Cyrenaica*, Padua 1932, pp. 1—3, 124.

27) v., for convenience, R. G. GOODCHILD, *Cyrene and Apollonia*, *pass* and p. 60 (Apollo), p. 64 (Artemis), p. 73 (Zeus), p. 49 (Demeter) and pp. 55, 61 the nymph Cyrene. SMITH and PORCHER (v. p. 71) considered from the statuary brought to light (mainly Roman) that they had located a temple of Aphrodite at Cyrene but the area has never been investigated.

28) Theocritus makes poetic capital of this on several occasions cf. Idyl XV, 116; XVII, 35—50.

29) This epithet (of the ram god) by which he is always identified in Oriental tradition is already demonstrated in Apocalyptic literature.

30) The literature on this subject is extensive v., in the first instance, W. TARN, *Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1948. Vol. II, pp. 347 ff.

31) Cf. (in the first instance) W. TARN, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, London 1959, pp. 49 ff.

and their worship was maintained in the dynastic interest, the priests of the cult identifying the year in the dating of state documents.[32])

All this is well known; it is, perhaps, not as generally appreciated that the practice was applied if anything more enthusiastically to notable women than to notable men —and especially is this to be understood in the instance of a living subject.[33]) It is known that Alexander intended to deify Olympias[34]) and the successors hastened to demand divine status for their favourite women folk.[35]) Again the Ptolemies were in the forefront of this practice.[36]) There appears evidence that Ptolemy Soter's beloved queen Berenice[37]) was publicly accorded divine honours in her own lifetime.[38]) Significantly enough the evidence relates to places under Ptolemaic control or influence outside the home territory of Egypt—Rhodes, Cos etc.[39])

The manner of deification, the *modus operandi* of the divine manifestation and its appropriate recognition, is a complex question. However as applied to a living woman it was inevitably by way of association.[40]) That is the existing human being was associated in some way with an existing divine being—the presence of two natures in the one person constituting a not altogether unheard of mystery. So it was that Berenice, wife of Soter and mother of Magas, was identified with Aphrodite. A divine character which was fitting in view of the personal history of Berenice,[41]) (and of some other queens of love and beauty who attained this estate). As Callimachus remarked (scenting a possible cavil), Aphrodite was particularly appropriate since she was not one but many.[42]) Be all this as it may Berenice became Aphrodite-Berenice, and indeed acquired a striking epithet: *ἐπαφρόδιτος*.[43]) As words go this passed on the face of

[32]) In this connection must be considered the effect of the traditional customs and religions of the country where the ruler had always been divine. v. E. Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London 1927, pp. 127ff.; H. I. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Liverpool 1953, pp. 22ff.

[33]) It seems a more facile matter to ascribe divinity to women than to men. To call a woman 'divine' or 'a goddess' would pass in any modern European language for a familiar metaphor or betoken only an all too familiar state of mind in the speaker. To call a man a god or divine, would most likely produce an embarrassed lull in the conversation. There are very basic psychological reasons for this. It is man rather than woman who makes Gods (in the image of his soul) and man, in some way regards his soul (anima) as feminine.

[34]) Curtius 9.6.26; 10.5.30.

[35]) Harpàlus caused Glykera to be worshipped; Demetrius had his mistresses Leaina and Lamia identified as Aphrodite. Apparently the Greeks found it congruous to venerate famous courtesans; Phryne, Lais and the like.

[36]) This subject, the deification of Ptolemaic Queens, has received the specific attention of J. L. Tondriau, v. *Princesses Ptolemaiques comparies ou identifiées à des Déesses*, in: *Bulletin de Societé Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* XXXVII (1948) pp. 12—33; Les Souveraines Lagides en Déesses au IIIe Siecle avant J—C in *Etudes de Papyrologie* 7, 1948, pp. 1—15. Very useful surveys appear in E. Visser, *Gotter und Kulte im Ptolemaischen Alexandrien*, Amsterdam 1938. — Once more the Egyptian background must be considered. The Queen had always a distinct religious function as 'The God's Wife'.

[37]) For a convenient account of Berenice v. G. H. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, Baltimore 1932, pp. 104 bis 109.

[38]) She, of course, received *post obit* deification together with Ptolemy as 'The Saviour Gods' in the official Pantheon.

[39]) v. Tondriau, *Etudes de Papyrologie*, 1948, p. 14. The evidence is mainly numismatic and has been the subject of controversy.

[40]) For a background to the idea of association (sharing the temple) v. A. D. Nock, *Synnaos Theos*, in: *Harvard Studies Class. Theol.* 1930, pp. 4ff.

[41]) Her *gradus ad Olympum:* maid of honour, mistress, Queen, Goddess.

[42]) *Τὰς 'Αφροδίτας η Θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία* v. *Callimaque*, E. Cohen, Paris 1940, p. 171. Ptolemy II, for example, caused to be worshipped as Aphrodite, not only his second wife Arsinoe, but his mistress, Bilistihe.

[43]) v. Idyl XVII, 36—37.

it for lovely, charming, but clearly specified the very worshipful qualities of 'fortunate', 'fruitful'.[44])

The identification with Aphrodite remained that most popular for deified Ptolemaic queens, although others were invoked.[45]) Within the general pattern of this association surviving evidence draws attention to one particular development—association with Aphrodite in her character as Goddes of the Sea and protector of those who venture on it.[46]) In this aspect the shrine was situated by the sea and the cult epithet σοφοῦσα employed. The establishment of this type of cult is directly attested for the two successors of Berenice I—Arsinoe I[47]) and Berenice II.[48])

Here in more than sufficient detail are the historic circumstances which serve to establish an earlier limit for the Temple of Aphrodite and suggest that it was but newly built when Diphilus used it as the setting for his play. If Magas, whose father was a nobody,[49]) came to exercise regal power in an old and famous Greek colony, then he had his mother Berenice and his step-father Ptolemy to thank. If he wished to honour them in the fashion of his day, then the founding of a cult of Aphrodite, with whom his mother Berenice was habitually identified, in a temple served by a priestess personifying the Ptolemaic regime would have been a highly congruous method of so doing. Moreover since it appears that such cults were especially at home in isolated shrines by the seabord, then again it is congruous that Magas' foundation should be 'on the sea-coast near Cyrene', in fact close by that city's harbour which came to be called Apollonia.

The last supposition can be supported on other counts. That Magas was specially concerned with the development of the harbour-town is witnessed to by archaeological evidence. Foremost is the fact that his coinage demonstrates him to have established a mint there—the issues being distinguished by the symbol of a crab.[50]) Again the recent Michigan excavations have revealed that the existing girdle of city-walls (still of monumental aspect) were provided at about the end of the fourth century[51]) and therefore possibly under Magas' direction. Finally very interesting epigraphic material was discovered by the French Expedition to Apollonia in 1956.[52]) The principal piece is a metrical dedication very much in the style of Callimachus. This shows Magas become king and God.[53]) Thus it relates to the period after the death of Ptolemy I when Magas took the royal title in opposition to his younger step-brother Ptolemy II. The divine association

[44]) e.g. it was used as an equivalent of Sulla's epithet *felix*, *Epaphroditos*, *venustus* favoured by/imbued with Venus, hence fruitful, fortunate.

[45]) e.g. Hera, Demeter, Athena, Nike, Isis etc. v. VISSER, *Götter und Kulte*, p. 16.

[46]) For Aphrodite ('from the foam') as a god of the sea and seamen (εὔπλοια, πελαγία) v. W. ROSCHER, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, Leipzig 1884—90, I, Cols 402ff. This association would be reinforced in Ptolemaic Egypt via Isis (Stella Maris—'Guiding' Star of the Sea).

[47]) For the shrine at Zephyrion dedicated by the Admiral Callicrates to Arsinoe-Aphrodite v. Callimachus, Epigram VI (LOEB ed. p. 140) also MACURDY, *Hellenistic Queens*, p. 126, who reproduces conveniently two other epigrams which are very informative, v. cf. Strabo 800, XVII. 11. 16.

[48]) v. TONDRIAU, *Etudes de Papyrologie*, 1948, p. 13. The source is Zenobius Centuria III 94. (v. *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* I p. 87.)

[49]) v. Pausanius I. 7; cf. F. CHAMOUX, *Le Roi Magas*, *loc. cit.* p. 32.

[50]) v. E. ROBINSON, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica*, pp. CXV; CXLIX.

[51]) v. D. WHITE, *Excavations at Apollonia*, in: *AJA* 70, 1966, p. 26; J. G. PEDLEY, *Excavations at Apollonia*, in: *AJA* 71, 1967, p. 144.

[52]) v. F. CHAMOUX, *Epigramme de Cyrène en l'honneur du Roi Magas*, *BCH* LXXXII, 1958, pp. 571—587.

[53]) v. *ibid* p. 572 for text.

is with Ares, through the cult-title Enyalios[54])—and this is of interest since traditionally Ares was of little account in Cyrenaica.[55]) It is however appropriate to one whose mother had already been identified with Aphrodite. Furthermore it seems that a cult of Ares was established at the time in Apollonia.[56])

These considerations are collateral and extend somewhat beyond the strict ambit of the enquiry—the consistency between the setting of the Rudens, the remains of the Doric Temple on the coast near Apollonia and the relevant history of Magas. On the face of it this consistency is sufficient to infer that the three are related one to the other. However one oblique aspect which also suggests this interrelation should be mentioned.

When Diphilus wrote his play there is no record of the place name Apollonia being in anyone's consideration. Early references speak of the 'harbour of Cyrene'.[57]) Whenever the name may have been introduced (certainly prior to the time of Strabo), Apollonia did not long survive as living designation for the harbour town. In Byzantine times it was ousted by Sozousa.[58]) This latter name was an acceptable Christian replacement for city names derived from Apollo—the connection lying through the soteriological aspect of the pagan god.[59]) In view of this succession several times attested elsewhere, no other explanation is required for the introduction of the name Sozousa at the harbour of Cyrene. This, however, is not to say that no other explanation can possibly ba applicable. Were the Temple of Aphrodite by the harbour of Cyrene to have housed a cult where a Queen was associated with the epithet of Soʒousa (as in contemporary Alexandria), then this fact might well be related to the choice of a new Christian-name for the town in Byzantine times. Perhaps before Apollonia was invented the harbour was popularly called Soʒousa Limen (after the near-by temple), and this popular reference has outlasted the official baptism, as frequently happens, to survive into the present day as Marsa Sousa.

The foregoing enquiry has shown that considerable evidence derived from literary sources can be brought into relationship with the destroyed Doric Temple at Apollonia. This evidence tends to reveal it as an early Ptolemaic creation and a brief conclusion may be provided by way of recapitulation. Plautus' comedy The Rudens is known to be modelled on a Greek original by Diphilus of Sinope written at the very beginning of the third century B. C. This play is set before a Temple of Aphrodite on the coast near the harbour of Cyrene. Historical circumstances make it as like as not that the temple adduced in the play was newly built and dedicated by Magas to his mother Berenice I, wife of Ptolemy Soter, in the guise of Aphrodite. A surviving Doric temple site on the coast near Apollonia is topographically consonant with the action of the play and no architectural evidence is manifested to negate such a period of origin for the remains. It is therefore very reasonable to suppose on literary and hisoric information that the date of construction of this temple is about 300 B.C. when Magas was established through the intercession of his mother Berenice I as *epitropos* of Cyrenaica under his step-father Ptolemy Soter.

54) v. *ibid* p. 579.

55) Ares is not mentioned by Vitali, in: *Fonti per la Storia della Religione Cyrenaica.*

56) Other fragments were discovered at Cyrenaica which give [Αθ]αναιας [Αρ]ευς, v. Chamoux, *loc. cit.* p. 581.

57) e.g. Pseudo Skylex.

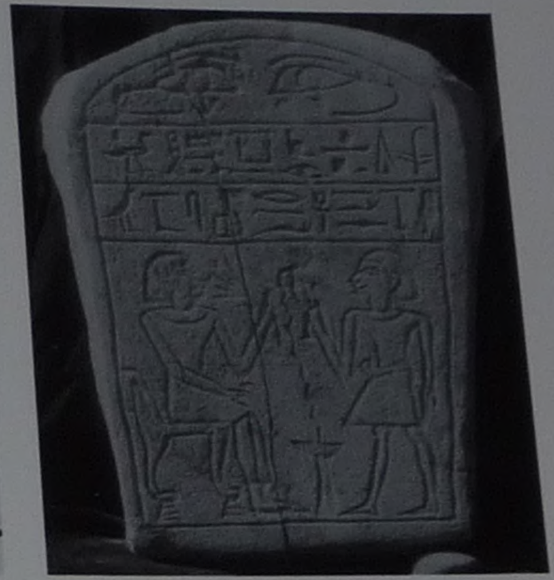
58) v. Goodchild, *Cyrene and Apollonia*, p. 82.

59) v. Pauly-Wissowa IIIA, Col. 1257.

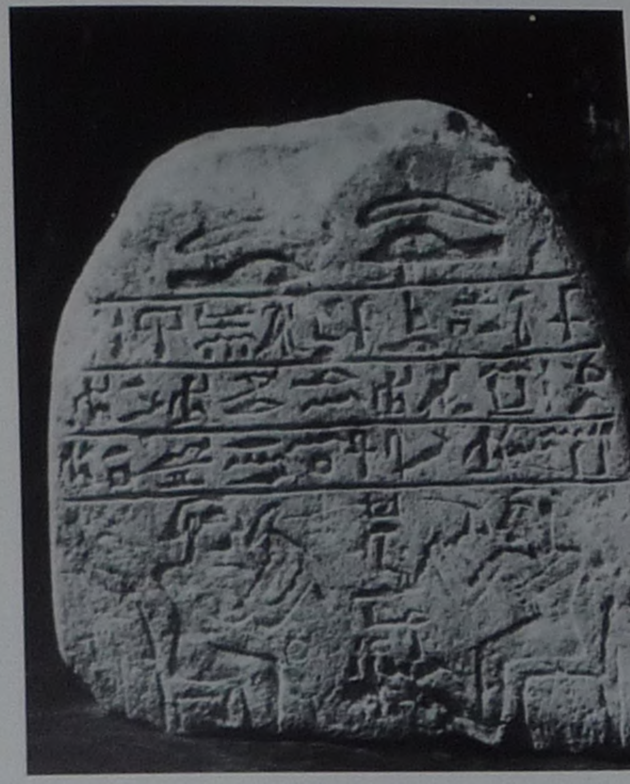
TAFELN



a) Elkab, Ansicht des Grabungsplatzes



b) Stele des *S3-Mnḫj.t*



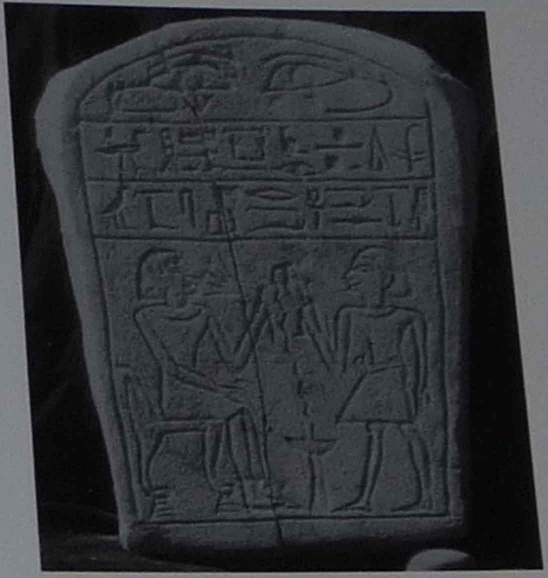
c) Stele des *Mwt*



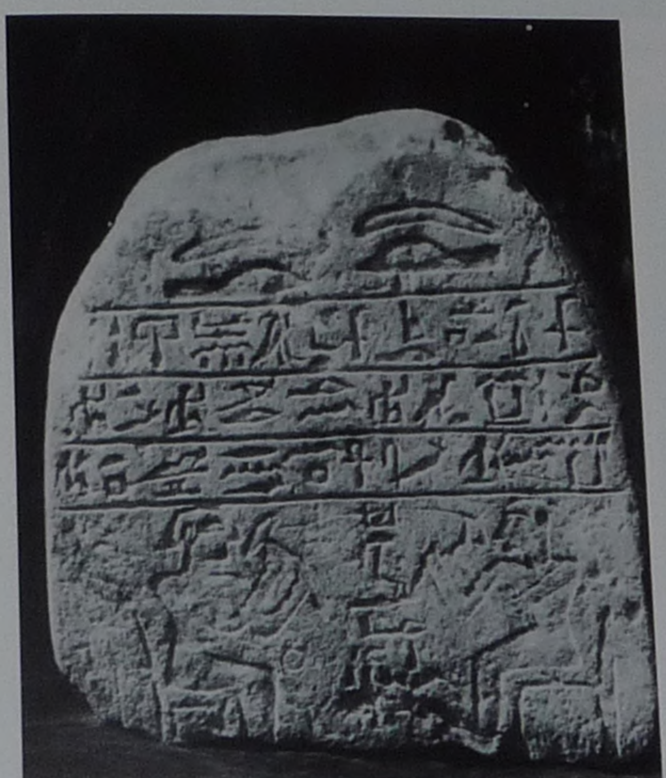
d) Stele des Sesostris



a) Elkab, Ansicht des Grabungsplatzes



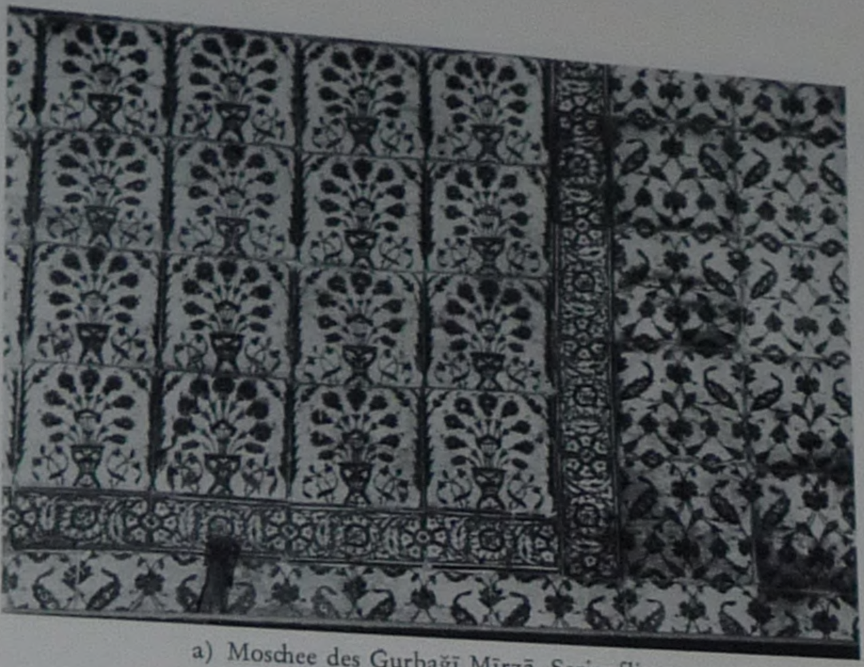
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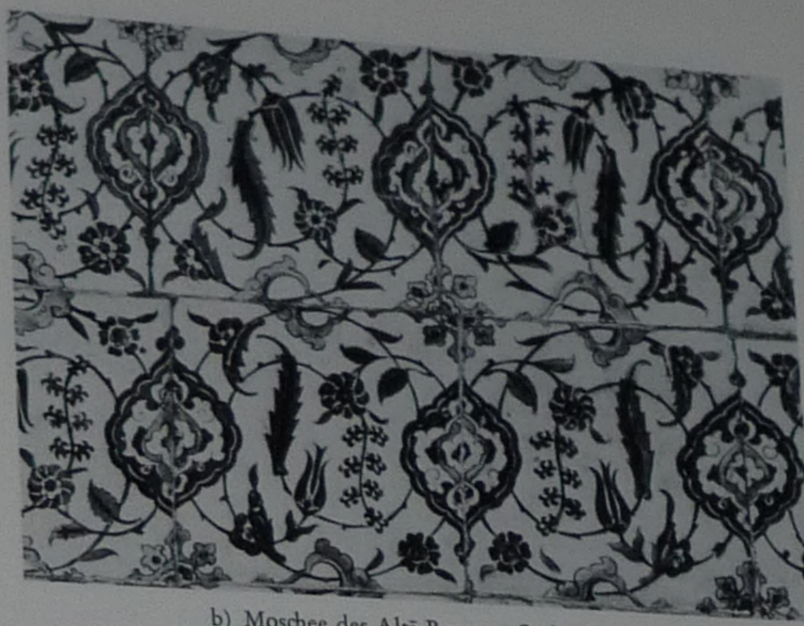
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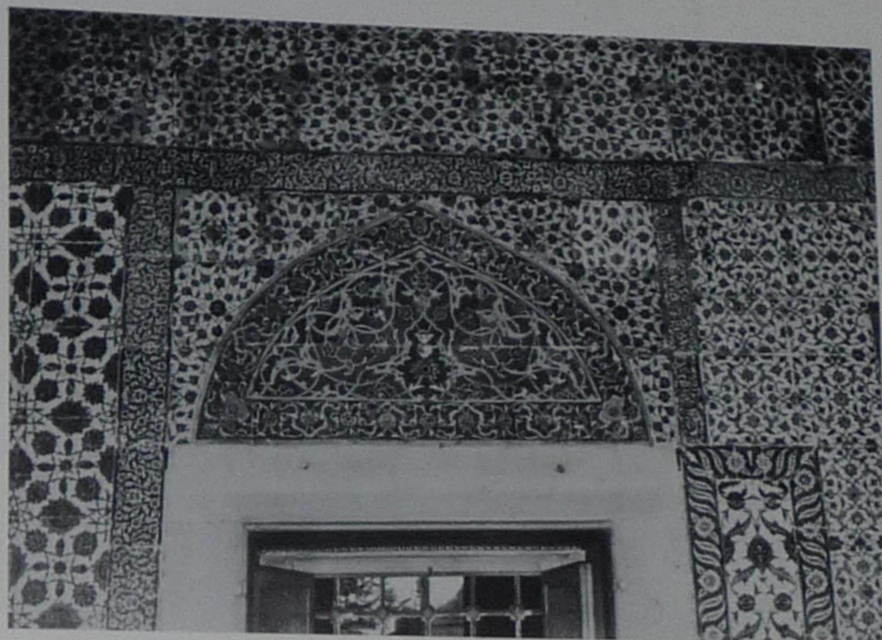
d) Stele des Sesostris



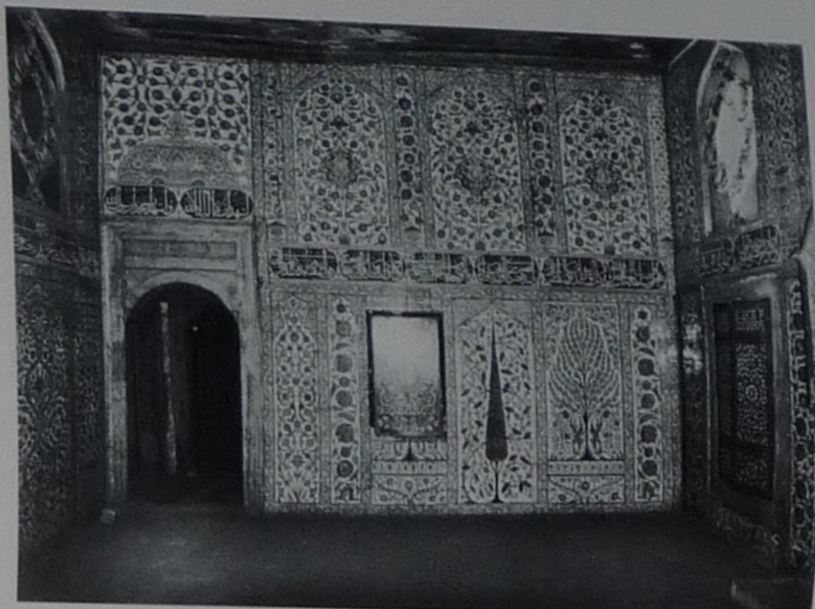
a) Moschee des Gurbağī Mīrzā, Serienfliesen



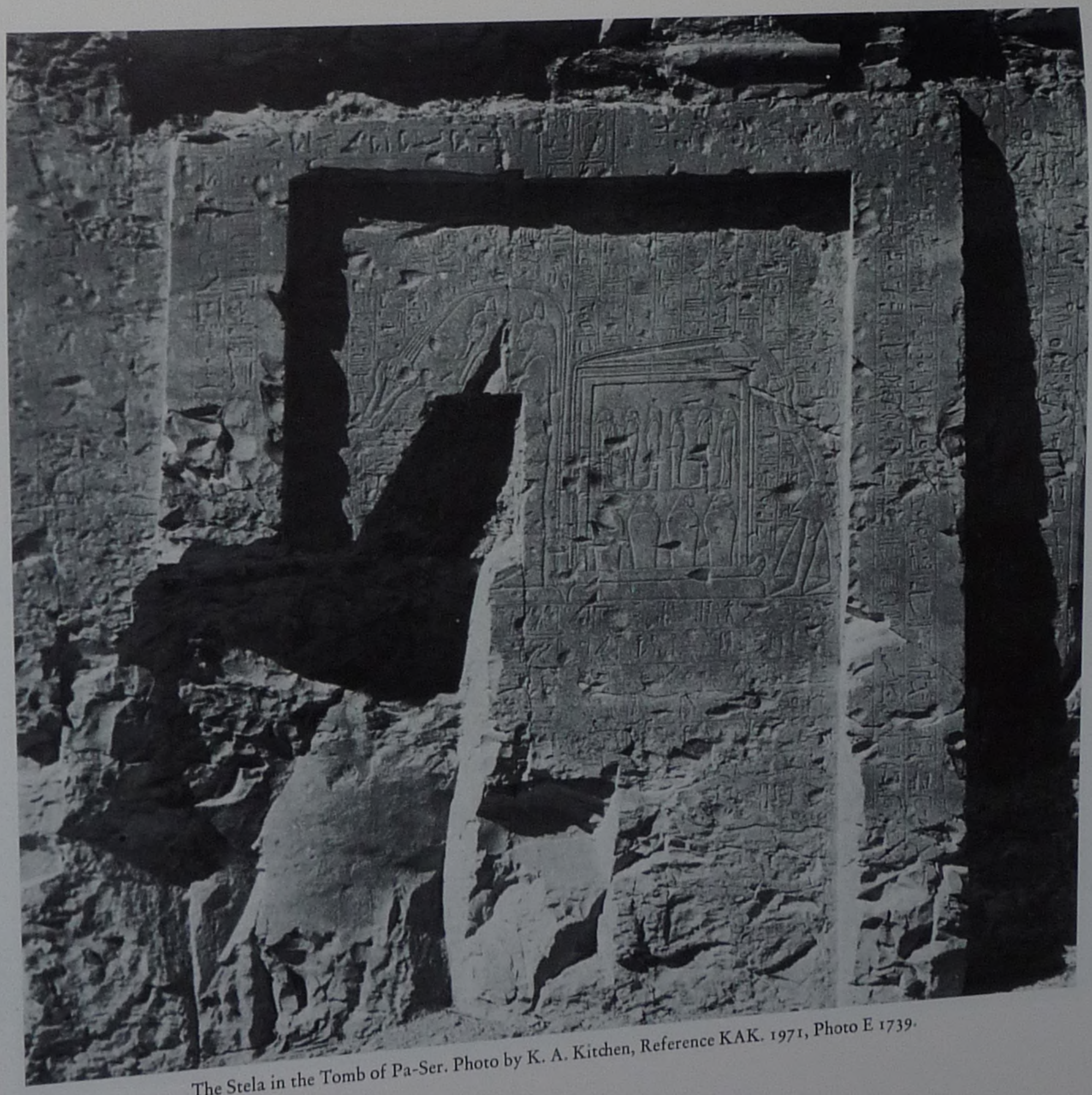
b) Moschee des Altī Barmaq, Serienfliesen



c) Istanbul, Topkapī Saray, Sünnet Odasī, Innenraum



d) Istanbul, Yeni Cami, Hauptraum des Hünkâr Kasrī



The Stela in the Tomb of Pa-Ser. Photo by K. A. Kitchen, Reference KAK. 1971, Photo E 1739.



The Stela in the Court of the Tomb of Khaʿemhat.
Courtesy of the Centre of Documentation and Studies on Ancient Egypt.

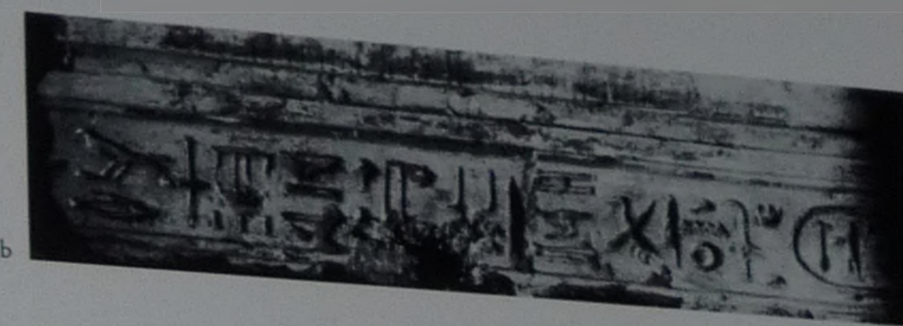


a) Complementary Stela in the Tomb of Kha'emhat. Courtesy of the Centre of Documentation and Studies on Ancient Egypt.



b) Denkstein des Nacht. Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, Inv.Nr. 7769.

a

b

c

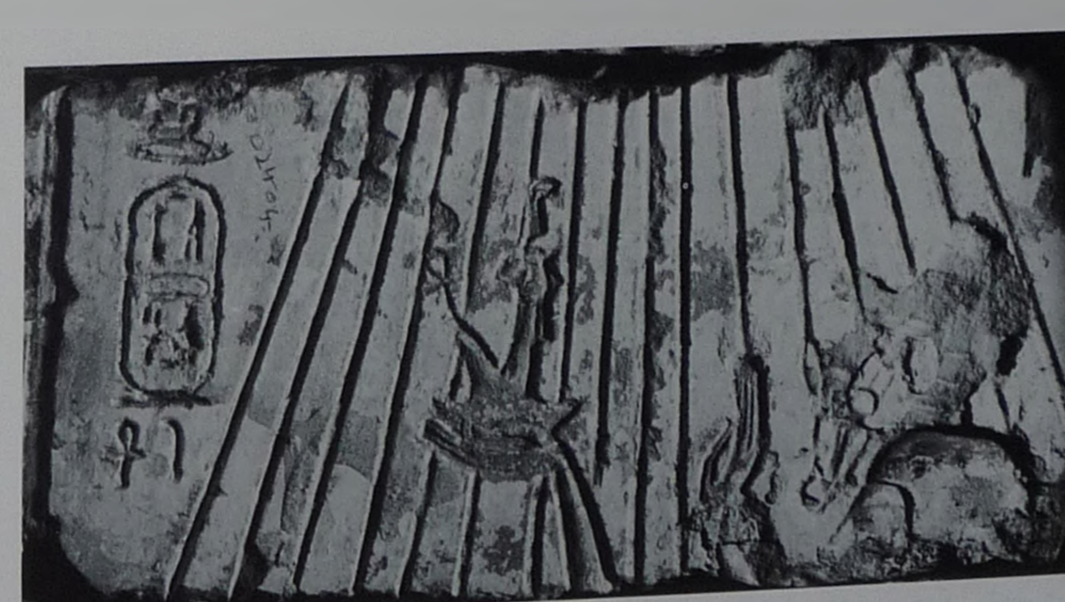
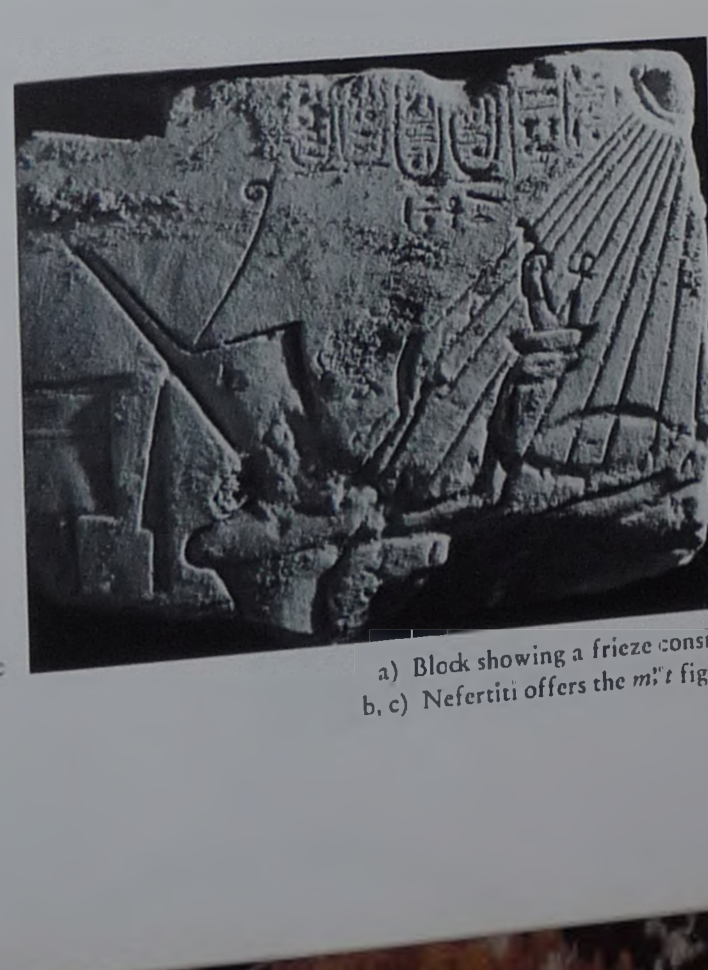
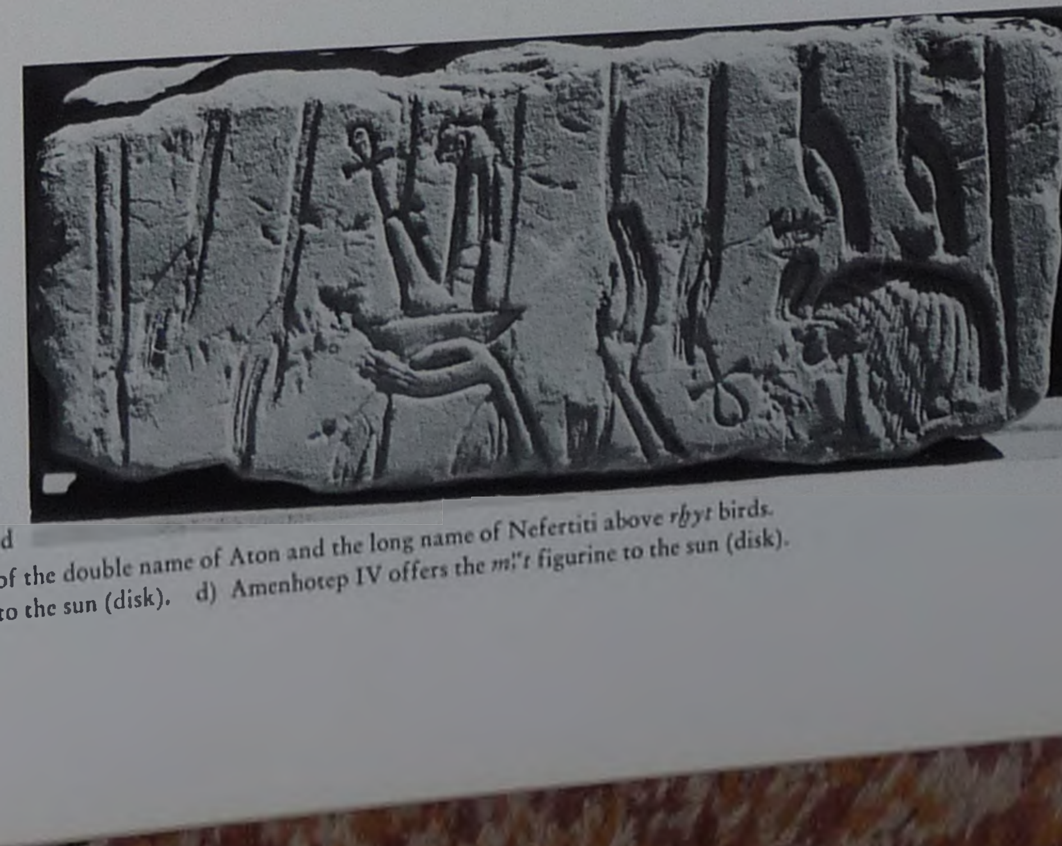
d

e

f


a) The only horizontal name of Nefer-nefru-Aton Nefertiti which occurs on the 35 000 studied blocks. b) The *ḥwt-bnbn* of the Queen Nefertiti.
c, d) Two blocks showing both names of Nefertiti. The short one is deeply inscribed in large scale and the long one has obviously been lightly added afterwards.
e, f) Two blocks showing the *sḥ-n-Itn* chapel name.

a

b

c

d


a) Block showing a frieze consisting of the double name of Aton and the long name of Nefertiti above *rḫyt* birds.
b, c) Nefertiti offers the *mꜣʿt* figurine to the sun (disk). d) Amenhotep IV offers the *mꜣʿt* figurine to the sun (disk).



a



b

The Site of the Extra-Mural Doric Temple

a) Looking westward at the Temple Front. To the right the rocky shoreline; to the left the way down to the leading into Apollonia.

b) Looking eastward at rear of the Temple. The limestone ridge parallel to the coast line makes the hump in the centre of the photograph. To the right modern cemeteries back onto the Temple emplacement and front the road into Apollonia. The headlands in the background of the shoreline approach the harbour of the ancient city.

ARCHÄOLOGISCHE VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN DES DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS · ABTEILUNG KAIRO

Band 4

Dieter Arnold

Grabung im Asasif 1963–1970

DAS GRAB DES JNJ-JTJ.F · DIE ARCHITEKTUR

Seit dem Frühjahr 1963 gräbt die Abteilung Kairo des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts im „Asasif", einem an Denkmälern der altägyptischen Kultur besonders reichen Teil der Nekropole von Theben. Hier überlagern sich Reste vom Beginn des Mittleren Reiches bis in die ptolemäische und römische Epoche. Die deutschen Grabungen erbrachten Funde aus den verschiedensten Zeiten, mit dem Schwergewicht auf der 11. und der 18. Dynastie sowie der Spät- und Ptolemäerzeit.

Alle diese Komplexe in einer fortlaufenden Reihe von Untersuchungen bekannt zu machen, gilt die Publikation, deren erster Teil „Die Architektur" hier vorgelegt wird.

Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f, eines Beamten des Königs der 11. Dynastie und Begründers des Mittleren Reiches, Mentuhotep Nb-hpt-R^{c}, der als Truppenführer bei der neuen Reichseinigung eine nicht unwichtige Rolle gespielt zu haben scheint, ist eine der bedeutendsten Grabanlagen der Epoche. Von vergleichbarem architektonischen und dekorativen Aufwand sind nur noch ganz wenige andere thebanische Gräber der 11. Dynastie. Alle sind entweder gar nicht oder nur ganz unzureichend untersucht und veröffentlicht.

Since the spring of 1963 the Cairo Division of the German Archaeological Institute has been excavating in the "Asasif", a section of the necropolis of Thebes particularly rich in monuments of ancient Egypt. At this site the archaeological remains date from the early Middle Kingdom to the Ptolemaic and Roman Imperial periods. The German excavations uncovered monuments of various epochs whereby the majority of finds belong to Dynasties XI and XVIII as well as to the Late Period and the Ptolemaic period.

The aim of this series the first part of which will be presented here is to publish in full the results of the campaigns.

The tomb of Jnj-jtj.f is one of the most important burials of the period. Jnj-jtj.f, a civil servant during the reign of King Mentuhotep Nb-ḥpt-R^{c}, the founder of Middle Kingdom, was an important military leader and appears to have played a significant role in the unification of the kingdom. Only very few Theban tombs of Dynasty XI are comparable, in architectural and decorative splendour, to the tomb under discussion. These are either insufficiently investigated or unpublished.

Size 27 x 35,5 cm., 59 pages of German text with 7 figures, 38 plates with 21 plans and 59 illustrations. Soft bound, DM 69.–

Band 5

Ahmed Moussa – H. Altenmüller

THE TOMB OF NEFER AND KA-HAY

Das in Saqqara im Frühjahr 1966 entdeckte Felsgrab des Nefer und Ka-hay gehört zu den archäologisch und kunsthistorisch bedeutendsten Gräbern des ägyptischen Alten Reiches. In der Zeit des Ne-user-ra (2416-2392) als Doppelgrab angelegt, ist es bereits 50 Jahre später beim Bau des Unas-Aufweges verschüttet worden. Da das Grab seit dieser Zeit nicht beraubt worden ist und auch nicht für sekundäre Bestattungen diente, blieb die Dekoration des Grabes vollständig intakt. Die Wände des Grabes sind in Relief verziert und weisen Szenen von überraschender Gestaltungskraft auf. Bildthemen, die teils konventionell, teils völlig neuartig sind, verraten hohe künstlerische Originalität. Vielleicht wurde die Dekoration des Grabes vom Inhaber Nefer persönlich entworfen und überwacht. Dieser führte den Titel eines „Aufsehers bei Hofe" und eines „Aufsehers der Handwerkerstätte" und hat sich im Grab auf der Scheintüre seines Vaters Ka-hay als Stifter des Grabes bezeichnet.

Nach der Beisetzung des Nefer und Ka-hay fanden weitere Mitglieder der Familie in dem nachträglich zum Familiengrab erweiterten Felsgrab ihren Platz. Sie alle besaßen einen Beruf, der sie wie Ka-hay mit der Musik bei Hofe und am Tempel verband.

The Rock Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay, discovered in Saqqara in the spring of 1966, is of great significance for the archeology and art history of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. Constructed as a double tomb in the time of Ne-user-ra (2416-2392), it was covered by sand and debris only about fifty years later following the construction of the causeway for King Unas. Since then the tomb has neither been robbed nor served for secundary burials, so that the decoration has stayed completely intact. The walls of the tomb are decorated in high relief of a surprising force. The motifs, some of them conventional, others quite ununsual, display great artistic originaliy. This decoration may have been designed and supervised by Nefer himself, who held the titles of "Inspector of the Great House" and "Inspector of the artisans' workshop", and declared himself to be the founder of the tomb on the false door of his father Ka-hay.

After Nefer and Ka-hay more members of the family were buried in the Rock Tomb, which thus became a family tomb. All of them exercised professions connecting them, like Ka-hay, with the music at the king's court and at the temple.

Size 27 x 35,5 cm., 50 pages of English text with 12 figures, 1 colorplate, 42 plates with 45 illustrations. Soft bound, DM 78.–

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